THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON

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OF

THOMAS JEFFERSON

INCLUDING ALL OF HIS IMPORTANT UTTERANCES ON PUBLIC QUESTIONS, COMPILED FROM STATE PAPERS AND FROM HIS PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE

BY

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PREFACE.

THROUGHOUT the formative period of our national life Thomas Jefferson stood second only to Washington in power and influence; after the death of Washington, for a quarter of a century, the will and words of Jefferson were supreme in American politics. After his death the spirit of Jefferson lived on, and to-day millions of men regard him as the greatest prophet of government and expounder of human rights that the world has produced.

An inquiring mind, doubtless, desires to know the exact nature of the teachings of one who has so profoundly affected society, desires to read the precise words of his doctrine. But it is not an easy matter to satisfy this desire. The doctrines of Jefferson are scattered through many costly volumes that are to be found only in favored private libraries or in centers where there are large public libraries. It is the purpose of this volume to put the teachings of Jefferson within the reach of all. His voluminous correspondence and numerous State papers have been examined and wherever a significant passage or an important official document has been found it has been classified and placed in this collection. Nothing that has point has been omitted.

For the purpose of making the writings more serviceable and intelligible a Life of Jefferson has been prepared. In this biographical sketch the aim has been to avoid controversy, abuse and eulogy, and to state the facts in a fair, non-partisan manner.

The portion of the Life beginning with Jefferson's career in France and continuing to the end has been written by Dr. W. A. Montgomery, of Arkansas College, Fayetteville, Arkansas.

S. E. F.

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON

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SCHOOL AND COLLEGE DAYS.

THOMAS JEFFERSON was born on the thirteenth day of April, 1743, at the homestead of Shadwell, near the city of Charlottesville, Albemarle County, Virginia. His father, Peter Jefferson, was a farmer, prosperous, strong in body, intellectual, and capable of public spirit. His mother was Jane Randolph, a refined and accomplished daughter of Isham Randolph, a worthy representative of the powerful family whose name he bore. Thus from both father and mother Jefferson was fortunate in his personal inheritance: big bones, well-knit muscles, a quick understanding, gentle instincts, and high social position.

The education of young Jefferson was attended by such happy circumstances that in after life he was constrained to say that, if he were called upon to choose between the large estate left him by his father and the education given to him, he would without hesitation choose the latter. At the age of five he was sent to school at Tuckahoe, a temporary residence of his family, where he learned the rudiments of English and was practiced in psalms and in the prayers and collects of the liturgy of the Episcopal Church. At the age of nine he was placed under the care of the Rev. William Douglas, a Scotchman, from whom he learned the beginnings of Latin, Greek, French, and mathematics. With this master he remained until his fourteenth year, when death suddenly took away his father. He now left the school of the Scotchman, carrying with him memories of "mouldy pies and excellent instruction," and entered one kept

by the Rev. James Maury, a Huguenot, a man of broad and independent mind, and a correct classical scholar. For two years he remained with this masterful tutor, working hard at his books during school time, and during holidays and vacations taking abundant exercise, hunting the mountains for their plentiful game and joining heartily in all the sports of boyhood.

In 1760, Jefferson of his own will and desire, began his studies at the College of William and Mary, situated at Williamsburg, the capital of the colonial government of Virginia. Williamsburg was an unpaved, hap-hazard village of about a thousand inhabitants. Small as the little capital may appear to us by comparison, it was nevertheless the center of much social and civic activity. While the legislature and Great Court were in session, prominent personages from all parts of the colony resided there with their families, and the winter season was passed in a round of pleasures and imposing functions. By reason of his connection with the Randolphs, Jefferson had easy access to the aristocratic set. Without the Randolphs he would probably have been long excluded from the fashionable circle, for he was a great, raw-boned, freckled-face, sandy-haired boy, awkward and shy. While he did not disdain the amusements of society, he did not forget the purpose for which he was spending his time and money in Williamsburg.

William and Mary was a poor specimen of a college in those days. It was poorly governed and poorly equipped, and its teachers were all that teachers should not be. There was one exception to this indictment. "It was my great good fortune," said Jefferson in speaking of his college days, "and what probably fixed the destinies of my life, that Dr. William Small of Scotland was then professor of mathematics, a man profound in most of the useful branches of science, with a happy talent of communication, correct and gentlemanly manners, and an enlarged and liberal mind. He, most happily for me, became soon attached to me and made me his daily companion, when not engaged in the school; and from his conversation I got my first views of the expansion of science and of the system of things in which we are placed." Dr. Small was a skeptic as

well as a mathematician, and it was from him that Jefferson learned his first lessons in agnosticism.*

By the professor the student was introduced to Francis Fauquier, the Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia—the ablest man, in Jefferson's opinion, that ever held that position. Fauquier was a man of the world, an imitator of the manners and a disciple of the philosophy of Chesterfield, a liberal host, and a thorough-going sportsman, both on the turf and at the table. Jefferson spent much time in the company of the governor, and learned many things that were to be avoided and much that was to be imitated. A third associate was George Wythe, a high-principled, scholarly lawyer, who has the honor of having been the law preceptor of Thomas Jefferson, John Marshall and Henry Clay. These four—Dr. Small, Governor Fauquier, George Wythe, and "Tom" Jefferson—were the acknowledged intellectual leaders of Williamsburg; and who shall say that such a coterie was not a university in itself? It proved to be a university to Jefferson. From Fauquier he learned manners, from Wythe the meaning of scholarship, and from Dr. Small the habit of thinking for himself. His mind thus awakened never relapsed into provincial slumber. The attainments of his friends stimulated him to an industry that knew no bounds. He sometimes studied fifteen hours a day.

After two years of this sweet and wholesome intimacy, the circle was broken. Dr. Small returned to Great Britain, there to become famous. The heart of the college was now gone, and Jefferson left it to return to his home at Shadwell. He took with him a sound knowledge of French, Greek, Latin, and the higher mathematics, good health, and an open, inquisitive mind. Better than all, he took away with him good habits. He had refused to join in the governor's gaming, he had not partaken of his wine, and he had not learned to use tobacco.† He left college morally sound.

There was one thing the youth of seventeen had brought to Williamsburg that the youth of nineteen did not take away

*See Religion, page 357; Christianity, page 152; Jesus, page 270.

†See Habits of Jefferson, page 237.

with him: that was his heart. Amid the social pleasures of the capital, he had looked long and fondly into the eyes of Rebecca Burwell, an heiress and a flamboyant and cruel beauty. Now that he was separated from her, he found that the image of the girl had burned itself into his soul, and that his peace of mind was gone. Upon leaving college he had made arrangements to read law under the direction of his friend Wythe, and had taken home his Coke and Littleton. "But to the devil with Coke; Coke is an old scoundrel," wrote the miserable youth to his friend Page. After the manner of young men in love for the first time, he bitterly bemoaned his fate. Numerous letters in which he describes his wretched condition have been preserved. "Inclination tells me to go," he writes to Page, "receive my sentence and be no longer in suspense; but reason says if you go and your attempt proves unsuccessful, you will be ten times more wretched than ever. If Belinda (a love-name for Rebecca) will not accept of my service, it shall never be offered to another." To be sure not! But the asseveration does credit to his heart.

Sometimes he is more hopeful, as when he writes to his friend Fleming: "I have thought of the cleverest plan of life that can be imagined. You exchange lands for Edgehill, or I mine for Fairfields; you marry Sukey Potter, I marry Rebecca Burwell, join and get a pole-chair and a pair of keen horses, and drive about to all the dances in the country together. How do you like it?" A fine program, but in a few short months he wrote to Fleming again: "With regard to the scheme I proposed to you sometime since, I am sorry to tell you it is totally frustrated by Miss Rebecca Burwell's marriage with Jacquelin Ambler."

The young man drowned his disappointment in dull old Coke. He read deeply of the law, following its history back beyond Coke, beyond Littleton, beyond Bracton, even to its Anglo-Saxon origins. Abstracts from Jefferson's note-book, kept while he was a student of the law, have come down to us, and these show that he had the instincts of a scholar, patient, accurate and fearless in his investigations. For four years he

pursued his law studies, spending his winters in Williamsburg and his summers on his estate of Shadwell. Once he left his books to take a journey and get a glimpse of the outside world. In a one-horse chaise he traveled north as far as New York, passing through Annapolis and Philadelphia. At the latter place, in obedience to his penchant for science, he had himself inoculated for small-pox. In New York he made the acquaintance of Elbridge Gerry, a young man whose ideals and aims were similar to his own. The young men conceived a deep regard for each other and for many years were political allies, Gerry being the most powerful supporter of Jefferson in New England. Soon after his return from this trip, Jefferson was admitted to the practice of the law at the bar of the General Court of Virginia. He was now in his twenty-fourth year.

JEFFERSON AS A FARMER AND LAWYER.

The civilization of Virginia in the eighteenth century was uniformly and universally rural. When Jefferson at the age of seventeen entered Williamsburg, he had never in his life seen a collection of houses numbering as many as a dozen. There were no large towns, no manufacturing industries, no inter-county or inter-colonial commerce. Farming was the one occupation of the people, and tobacco the one product of the farm. Tobacco, as has been pithily said, was king. The farms —large tracts of land consisting sometimes of thousands of acres—were tilled by slaves. Slavery and tobacco formed the basis of society. Jefferson was a farmer, owned slaves, and impoverished his land by the cultivation of tobacco. He esteemed farmers as God's chosen people and he never ceased to praise agriculture* as the only moral and ennobling vocation. As the oldest son of Peter Jefferson he inherited, besides a number of slaves, the homestead, Shadwell—an estate of nineteen hundred acres of the finest land in Virginia, situated on the Rivanna, a tributary of the James. When the young man took possession of his lands the Rivanna was unnavigable for

*See Agriculture, page 135.

boats of any kind, but it was not long before he had its channels deepened and the stream rendered useful to himself and his neighbors—a service† which he deemed worthy of being ranked among the greatest of his life. The management of the plantation was assumed by Jefferson, who throughout his life was what we should call, in these days, a scientific farmer. His "garden-book," a monument of detail and patience, shows that he was deeply interested in the processes of nature, and that he brought to bear the keenest observation and the most careful reflection upon numberless experiments in garden, orchard, and field. His avowed ambition was to make two blades of grass grow where one had grown before. Although much given to theory, he was sufficiently practical to make his farm pay. For many years it yielded him an annual income of two thousand dollars, which, combined with an income of three thousand dollars made by the practice of the law, enabled him by the year 1774 to increase the number of his acres from nineteen hundred to five thousand and the number of his slaves from thirty to fifty-four. It is but just to say, however, that no slaves were ever bought as an investment. We shall see that Jefferson was quite incapable of engaging in such a traffic.

As a lawyer Jefferson was successful from the beginning. He was no orator; he was not even an agreeable public speaker. When elevated, his voice grew husky and indistinct. Yet in other respects he was admirably qualified for the bar. His talent for investigation enabled him to bring his cases into court thoroughly prepared, and a faculty for summarizing a case, however complex or vast, in a few short sentences, made it possible for him to dispense with the tricks of the fluent advocate. During the first year of his practice he had sixty cases before the General Court of Virginia. The second year brought him one hundred and fifteen cases. Among his clients were the Blands, Burwells, Carters, Harrisons, Randolphs, Lees, Nelsons, Pages. He continued in a lucrative practice until 1774, when the duties of public office practically ended his career as an attorney.

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†See Services of Jefferson, page 381.

Jefferson began his public life as a vestryman of the parish church and justice of the county court, offices which his father before him had filled. In 1769 he presented himself to the voters of Albemarle County as candidate for the House of Burgesses, an office which had also been held by his father. In accordance with the democratic custom of the time, the candidate went from voter to voter and made personal solicitations. He was elected as a matter of course. Indeed, he may be said to have inherited the seat of his father.

It was a critical and troublous period when he took his seat. Throughout the colonies there was a growing distrust of George III. and Parliament. Virginia imagined herself loyal, but outward forms apart, she was drifting with the general tide away from the home government. The great proprietors, the royal officers, and the clergy, partly through interest, partly through affection, were unshaken in their fidelity to the old order of things; but there were appearing upon the scene leaders who, like Otis and Adams in the north, were determined to resist to the last the encroachments of the crown. Jefferson fell in with those threatening revolution as naturally as a duck takes to water. He liked rebellion for its own sake. It cleared up the political atmosphere, he thought; a country without a rebellion,* say every century, he regarded as being in a dangerous way. Among his colleagues in the legislature were George Washington and Patrick Henry. These three men conducted the Revolution in Virginia. Washington was its sword, Henry its tongue, and Jefferson its pen. At the opening of the first session the member from Albemarle drafted a reply to the Governor's address, but his effort was rejected as being deficient in both style and contents. The young man was doubtless mortified, but his propensity to draw up addresses, constitutions, etc., was deeply rooted, and we shall find him trying his hand again upon the first and all succeeding occasions.

On the Thursday after the opening of the session the House passed resolutions which, after denying the right of taxation

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*See Rebellion, page 354.

without representation, and the right of trying accused Americans in English courts, declared the right of the colonies to concur and co-operate in seeking redress of grievances. On account of those resolutions Lord Botetourt, the royal Governor, promptly dissolved the Burgesses, who, as private citizens, immediately met in the Apollo room of the famous Raleigh Tavern and, following the example of Massachusetts, pledged themselves to refrain from trade with England until such time as she should show a disposition to treat the colonies justly. When in a few months word was brought that the English government had relented, and that at the next session of Parliament a proposition would be made to remove the obnoxious duties, the governor reassembled the Burgesses in the hope that the trouble would be tided over. At this session, advancing about a century ahead of his time, Jefferson introduced a bill making it lawful for a master to emancipate his slaves. The prompt and emphatic rejection of the bill caused him to lose hope of the speedy settlement of the slavery question in Virginia, but it did not shake his belief in the justice of the cause.

In 1770 Jefferson's home at Shadwell was destroyed by fire, and with it his furniture, books and law-papers. Only a highly prized violin was rescued from the flames. About two miles from the Shadwell house was a hill named by Jefferson, Monticello* (little mount). This eminence commands a view of surpassing beauty, and was chosen by Jefferson as the site of a mansion that should embody his ideas of architecture—an art upon which he expended much thought, and in which he was more than an amateur. After the fire the building of a new house upon the "little mount" was pushed rapidly, and in something more than a year a section was ready for occupancy.

In 1772 Jefferson married and brought to his new mansion Martha Skelton, a childless widow of twenty-two, the daughter of John Wayles, a wealthy lawyer of Williamsburg. A story of the wooing is told by Randall, Jefferson's most faithful biographer. The widow Skelton, it seems, had many suitors. "Upon

*See Monticello, page 311.

one occasion two of her admirers called and were shown into a room from which they heard her harpsichord and voice, accompanied by Mr. Jefferson's violin and voice in the passages of a touching song. Whether something in the words or in the tone of the singers offered suggestion to them, tradition does not say, but it does aver that they took their hats and retired to return no more on the same errand." Jefferson was happy in his marriage. His wife was a woman distinguished by charms of mind and person, and she received from her husband an affection that was deep and imperishable.

GETTING UNDER WAY AS A STATESMAN.

The Convention that assembled in Williamsburg in August, 1774, in response to the call of the coterie of patriots that had in May met at the Raleigh Tavern was the first extra-legal representative body that met in Virginia. Among its members were Peyton Randolph, Patrick Henry, Benjamin Harrison and the Lees. Jefferson was chosen to represent Albemarle County, but on his way to Williamsburg he was taken ill and was prevented from attending. His influence in the Convention, however, was exerted through a document which he had prepared and placed in the hands of Randolph and Henry. This was the celebrated "Summary View of the Rights of British America"—a composition intended to form the basis of instructions to the delegates from Virginia in the Continental Congress. The manuscript was inspected by the members of the Convention, and was found to contain so much that was vigorous and convincing that it was printed at Williamsburg at private expense, without the knowledge of the author and without his name appearing. It was quickly reprinted in Philadelphia and also in London. The "Summary View" was probably the most important political pamphlet published at the South in the early days of the Revolution. It was Jefferson's aim to "set a pace that would bring the front and rear ranks of his fellow countrymen together." These "Instructions" show that his pace was a pretty rapid one, for they breathe the spirit of independence in every paragraph.

Indeed, it was the odd fortune of the writer of the Declaration of Independence to be accused in later years of having pilfered many of his ideas from the "Summary View."

Jefferson's views were too radical for the official approbation of the Convention, but he seems not to have been in advance of the public opinion of his constituency, for upon the occasion of his double election to the Convention and to the House of Burgesses in July, 1774, he drew up and caused to be adopted by the freeholders of Albemarle County a set of resolutions in which the right of self-government among the colonies without the intervention of Parliament was strictly asserted. Other counties passed spirited resolutions, but none were so spirited and revolutionary as these. The same citizens of Albemarle, after they had adopted the resolutions drawn up by their leader, armed themselves and threatened Lord Dunmore with punishment for stealing the powder of the colonists from the magazine in Williamsburg. Jefferson was doubtless behind this uprising, for he was the most prominent member of the Committee of Safety in his county.

In March, 1775, the Virginia Convention met at Richmond in the parish church of St. John, Jefferson in attendance. The eloquence of Patrick Henry hurried the willing body into revolution. He moved that the Colony "be immediately put into a state of defense," and in support of his motion delivered a speech that set on fire the souls of his hearers and still thrills the hearts of American school boys. Henry's motion was carried, and a committee consisting of himself, R. H. Lee, R. C. Nicholas, Benjamin Harrison, George Washington, Edmund Pendleton and Thomas Jefferson was appointed to devise a plan for putting the colony upon a military basis. Before the Convention adjourned it selected Jefferson to represent the colony in the Continental Congress in the place of Peyton Randolph, providing the latter should be recalled to preside over the House of Burgesses. In June, 1775, Randolph was recalled, and Jefferson became a member of Congress. Before he took leave of the colonial legislature, however, he prepared a reply to Lord North's "Conciliatory Proposition," which had been referred

to the Burgesses by the Governor for their consideration. It was understood throughout the colonies that Virginia was to make the first answer to the ministry's proposition for peace, and Jefferson was anxious that she should set for the other colonies an example of firmness and courage. The reply, passed by a vote "approaching unanimity," shows that the colony was rebellious and bent upon war, despite its protestations of loyalty and its oft-expressed desire for peace. Patrick Henry had uttered the real sentiment of his countrymen when he said: "The God of Hosts is all that is left us. Gentlemen may cry peace, peace, but there is no peace."

It was in a spirit of war and rebellion that Jefferson drew up a reply to the "Conciliatory Proposition," and it was in this spirit that he went to Philadelphia in June, 1775, to take his seat as a delegate to Congress. He was now thirty-two years of age; only two members of Congress were younger. He had developed into an all-round man of the world. He could "calculate an eclipse, survey an estate, tie an artery, plan an edifice, try a cause, break a horse, dance a minuet, and play the violin." His fame had preceded him in Congress. "Mr. Jefferson," wrote John Adams in 1822, "came to Congress in June, 1775, and brought with him a reputation for literature, science, and a happy talent for composition. Writings of his were handed about, remarkable for the peculiar felicity of expression." His pen was soon called into requisition. Congress, feeling obliged to give the world reasons for the rebellious scenes of Lexington and Bunker Hill, appointed a committee to draw up a declaration of causes for taking up arms. The report of this committee proving unsatisfactory, Congress recommitted it and added Jefferson and John Dickinson to the committee. Jefferson drew up a declaration that was too strong for the conservatives. Especially was the language of the young Virginian too strong for John Dickinson, who had great influence in Congress and still cherished hopes of reconciliation. Jefferson, seeing there was no chance for the adoption of his own draft against the opposition of Dickinson, gave way. Dickinson then prepared a statement more agreeable to the less radical, although

not less patriotic, wing of Congress. The concluding paragraphs of Dickinson's draft, however, are substantially copied from Jefferson. One passage from Jefferson's portion of the address is often quoted by historians on account of the ominous import of one of its words. "We mean not to dissolve that union which has so long and so happily subsisted between us, and which we sincerely wish to see restored. Necessity has not *yet* driven us into that desperate measure."

In July, 1775, Congress, by ballot, chose Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams and R. H. Lee as a committee to report on Lord North's "Conciliatory Proposition." Jefferson had already drawn Virginia's answer to the overture, and his colleagues on the committee requested him to draft the reply of Congress also. This he did to the satisfaction of the committee, and his report with slight emendations was promptly adopted by Congress. In this reply of Congress he necessarily followed quite closely the form of reply drawn up by himself for the House of Burgesses of Virginia. The tone of the document was sullen and defiant. It held firmly to a denial of Parliament's right to "intermeddle with our provisions for the support of civil government. * * * But while Parliament pursues its plan of civil government within its own jurisdiction, we hope also to pursue our own without molestation." In a few weeks hard work and an aggressive and fearless nature had brought Jefferson to the front in Congress. "He was so prompt, frank, explicit, and decisive upon committees and in Convention," said John Adams, "that he soon seized upon my heart."

Congress adjourned in August, 1775, and Jefferson returned to Richmond to take his seat as the representative of Albemarle in the Virginia Convention. Immediately he was elected to represent the colony in the next Congress. The election was by ballot, with the following result: Peyton Randolph 89 votes, R. H. Lee 88, Thomas Jefferson 85, Benjamin Harrison 83, Thomas Nelson 66, Richard Bland 61, George Wythe 58. A question came before the Convention at this time that had for Jefferson a most abiding interest. It was a question of religious

liberty—a thing as yet unheard of in Virginia. A petition was presented by the Baptists asking that Baptist ministers be allowed to preach to Baptist soldiers. The Convention passed a resolution granting their request. Jefferson's vote for the resolution was his first act in a movement directed by himself which led to the disestablishment of the church in Virginia, and to a general separation of Church and State in America.

After a few days' attendance upon the Convention, Jefferson sought his beloved Monticello, the scene of so much joy and sorrow in his life. This time sorrow darkened his stay. His second child, Jane, died in September. A letter written by him about this time to John Randolph, a kinsman whose interests had caused him to leave America at the outbreak of hostilities and take up his residence in England, reflects in clear light Jefferson's views upon the troublous questions of the hour. "I would rather be in dependence on Great Britain, properly limited," he writes in this letter, "than on any nation on earth, or than on no nation. But I am one of those, too, who rather than submit to the rights of legislating for us assumed by the British Parliament, would lend my hand to sink the whole island." This could mean but one thing—separation.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

Jefferson returned to Philadelphia in September to find that the temper of Congress accorded with his own. The king had spurned the petition of the Americans, had not deigned even to listen to it, and was making active military preparations for the coercion of the colonists. The Americans, on the other hand, were taxing all their resources in their preparation for resistance. Philadelphia, where the companies were drilling twice a day, was more like a camp than a peaceful Quaker town. News came from the North that Boston was evacuated and Ticonderoga captured; from the South, that Norfolk, the largest city of Virginia, was burned by the British. Congress sat with closed doors but its members were not deaf to the alarming state

of affairs without. They saw it was only left to them to declare a war that public sentiment had already declared. Necessity demanded an ally, and wistful eyes were cast towards England's historic foe. An agent of France was in Philadelphia charged with the mission of offering the good services of his government to the colonies. Congress deputed Jay, Franklin and Jefferson as a committee to confer with the envoy. The conference was successful, and was the first in a chain of events that led to the French alliance and to Jefferson's diplomatic career in France.

Jefferson remained in Congress for three months serving on numerous committees and taking an active part in all proceedings. In December he left Philadelphia for Monticello. During this absence from Congress Jefferson's mother died, and it is generally thought that it was her illness that called him away from his post of duty. In May, 1776, he returned to Philadelphia and entered energetically into the work of Congress. He found all things tending to revolution. On the day of his return Congress passed resolutions advising the colonies to form governments for themselves; five days after his return news came that the Virginia Convention had passed a resolution instructing its delegates in Congress to support a motion declaring the "United Colonies free and independent States, absolved from all allegiance or dependence upon the Crown or Parliament of Great Britain." This resolution was reported by Archibald Cary, a kinsman of Jefferson and the man who reported for him the reply to the "Conciliatory Proposition" of Lord North. This circumstance, and the additional fact that Jefferson was in Virginia, and probably at the capital at the time of the passage of the resolution, have been used as the basis of a conjecture that he had a hand in the drafting and passing of this most important act of the Convention. If it should ever be proved that Jefferson was the author of that resolution, there will be no occasion for surprise, for it was his custom never to appear himself in a legislative measure when he could get some one else to appear for him.

Congress promptly took up the question presented to it by the Virginia resolution. On June 7th R. H. Lee moved that

the colonies be declared independent. The debate on the motion continued for two days; it was then deemed wise to postpone action for twenty days. The reason given by Jefferson for the delay was that "the colonies of New York, New Jersey, Maryland and South Carolina were not yet mature for falling from the parent stem, but that they were fast advancing to that state." Delay, it was thought, would give public opinion in these lukewarm colonies time to crystallize in favor of independence. The form of the declaration was deemed highly important, and in order that there might be no haste, Congress at once (June 10th) appointed a committee consisting of Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston to draft the instrument. Upon Jefferson devolved the agreeable task of writing the declaration. He had three weeks to spend upon it, and it appears that he bestowed upon its composition the greatest pains. While he was thus engaged his name came up before the Virginia Convention for re-election, and he barely escaped defeat, being next to the lowest upon the list of successful delegates. On the 28th of June he brought the Declaration before Congress. He had previously submitted it to the committee, who adopted it after two or three slight alterations had been made by John Adams and one or two by Franklin. It was read and laid on the table. On the first of July the original motion of the Virginia delegation for independence was carried by the vote of nine colonies. New York and Pennsylvania were against independence on this vote; Delaware was divided, and South Carolina wanted time. Time was granted, and when the question was put to a vote on the next day, South Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Delaware threw their votes for independence. New York did not consent until July 9th. Having resolved upon independence Congress at once took up Jefferson's form of declaration.*

The document was roughly handled, the criticism sometimes being so acrimonious as to cause Jefferson to wince. During the overhauling some of Jefferson's fine phrases were expunged;

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*See Independence, Declaration of, page 257.

which was, of course, a good thing. At the same time, some of his finest sentiments were expunged; which, perhaps, was not so fortunate. Jefferson hated slavery, and he had inserted in the declaration a round denunciation of George III. for his part in the encouragement of the slave trade. Congress regarded this in bad taste, inasmuch as the colonies, north and south, profited by their participation in that trade. So, through shame, the noblest paragraph in the declaration was omitted. In the original draft was an expression of hatred for the English, whose inhuman act of securing mercenaries of other countries to send against their American brethren "gave the last stab to agonizing affection, and manly spirit bids us to renounce forever these unfeeling brethren. We must endeavor to forget our former love for them, and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends." This was expunged as being uncalled for. Congress made several interpolations, but did not in this way materially alter the document. It is generally conceded that the few changes made by Congress, both those of addition and omission, improved the Declaration.

The debate continued for three days, with the prospect at times of it being interminable and fruitless. Jefferson became gloomy and anxious. At last, in the afternoon of the fourth of July, a comical circumstance brought the discussion to an end. Near the hall in which Congress sat was a livery stable (the story is Jefferson's), from which on that afternoon a swarm of vicious flies issued, and, entering through the open windows, attacked the thinly-covered legs of the members. Resistance was made with handkerchief and fan, but to little effect. The biting became unendurable, and the dignified body, goaded to distraction, hurried on to a swift and ridiculous conclusion of the momentous question. To escape the flies a vote was taken! The Declaration was adopted, four members voting against it and New York withholding its vote. It was signed at once by John Hancock, the President of Congress, and Charles Thompson, Secretary. The remaining signatures that appear upon the engrossed copy which is to be seen in old Independence Hall, Philadelphia, were affixed on August 2nd, 1776. Of the

fifty-six signers of the declaration, seven were not members of Congress when it passed.

On July 5th Congress adopted a resolution ordering that the Declaration be sent to the several assemblies, conventions, and councils of safety, and to all the officers of the continental armies. In this way it was soon proclaimed throughout the United States. It met with the most enthusiastic ratification and adoption. From New Hampshire to Georgia there were bonfires, torchlight processions, the firing of guns, and ringing of bells. "The people," said Samuel Adams, "seemed to recognize this resolution as though it was a decree promulgated from heaven."

The Declaration of Independence has been severely criticised both for its style and for the principles it enunciates, but its place among the great papers of history is secure, and criticism of it is becoming idle and uninteresting. That it contained nothing new was perhaps the feature that won for it the affection of the world. Jefferson claimed nothing new for it. When charged with rehashing old sentiments and copying from Locke and Otis when he wrote it, he denied the charge of plagiarism, but acknowledged that there were no new ideas or new sentiments in it. Nevertheless, the declaration is no servile imitation. It was written from the shoulder. "I turned to neither book nor pamphlet while writing it," says Jefferson. How peculiarly it was an embodiment of his own ideas is seen in a sentence in a letter to his friend Fleming, written three days before the Declaration was passed. "If any doubts has (sic) arisen as to me, my country will have my *political creed* in the form of the declaration which I was lately directed to draw." Jefferson was brimful of ideas of reform when he wrote the Declaration, and he aimed to make it a profession of his political faith. His faith was that of a democrat, and the Declaration of Independence is a formal expression of the beliefs and aspirations of the democracy of his time. It is a remarkable paper, because it so successfully proclaims the spirit of the age in which it was written.

JEFFERSON AS A LAW-GIVER.

Jefferson's interest in the affairs of Congress could not crowd out his interest in the affairs of his own State. Virginia, and not the United States, was as yet his country. When the Convention declared for independence it took steps to provide for a form of government for the new order of things. While Jefferson was in Philadelphia working on the great document that has secured his fame, he found time to prepare outlines of a Constitution for the new Virginia. He sent his plan to the President of the Convention, but it arrived too late. The construction of a new Constitution had already proceeded so far that it was not deemed wise to go back and open up for debate matters that had been agreed upon by the assembly after long discussion. Jefferson's preamble, however, written in the spirit of, and bearing a strong similitude to, the Declaration of Independence, was adopted as an amendment and prefixed to the new Constitution.

We have seen that Jefferson was re-elected to Congress in June, 1776, but in September he resigned his seat, claiming at the time that the situation of his domestic affairs demanded this step. In the memoir of his life, written in 1820, he gives an entirely different reason for leaving Congress. He there says: "A meeting of the (Virginia) legislature was to be held in October and I had been elected a member by my county. I knew that our legislation under the regal government had many very vicious points which urgently required reformation, and I thought I could be of more use in forwarding that." Whatever his motives have been, whatever the true reason was, he vacated his seat in Congress and entered the Virginia legislature.

About this time (October, 1776) Jefferson was selected by Congress to go to France with Franklin and Silas Deane, for the purpose of effecting a treaty of alliance. It was the dream of his youth to visit Europe. The cause of his ill-success in his first love affair has been attributed to the fact that he asked

the young lady to defer marriage until he should have spent several years abroad. This diplomatic appointment would enable him to realize his dream in an almost ideal way. He debated long and anxiously whether he should go or not. After three days of waiting, the messenger who brought word of his appointment returned to Congress with this answer: "It would argue great insensibility in me could I receive with indifference so confidential an appointment from your body. My thanks are a poor return for the partiality they have been pleased to entertain for me. No cares for my own person nor yet for my private affairs would have induced one moment's hesitation to accept the charge. But circumstances very peculiar to the situation of my family, such as neither permit me to leave or to carry it, compel me to ask leave to decline a service so honorable, and at the same time so important to the American cause."

Jefferson took his seat in the first republican House of Delegates that met in Virginia on the first day of the session, and entered at once upon a labor of reform that was to prove the greatest work of his life, and that revolutionized the public and private law of the State. The code of Virginia, when he and Wythe and Madison took hold of it to make it reasonable and human and just, was a strange pot-pourri of tyranny, cruelty and bigotry. Its penal code, like that of the mother country before the days of Bentham, was as unscientific as it was severe. At every county seat there was a pillory, a whipping-post, and stocks. A general law commanded the erection of these instruments of torture in the yards of all court-houses. The ducking-stool for babbling women could be added if such was the local option. The laws in force relating to religion were as intolerant as the age in which they had been passed—the age of the wrongly named "Toleration Act." To call in question the Trinity or to be a deist was punishable with imprisonment without bail. To be a Catholic debarred a man of the right to teach, to own a horse or a gun, or to give testimony in a court of law. A Protestant minister not of the Anglican faith could be legally drummed out of the country. The right of voting

was limited to those owning twenty-five acres of land with a house thereon, or one hundred acres without a house. In an incorporated city a man could not vote unless he was the owner of land within the city limits. Harsh naturalization laws discouraged immigration. The law of entail and primogeniture flourished as in England.

Jefferson's first attack upon the old order of things was directed against a class to which he himself belonged—the aristocracy. Much of the best land of Virginia descended from oldest son to oldest son by way of entail. Such land was not liable for debt, could not be bequeathed by will, could not be alienated even with the consent of the owner without special act of the legislature. Such a system of land tenure was opposed to one of Jefferson's pet theories—to wit, that one generation has no right to bind succeeding generations; that the usufruct of the earth belongs to the living, not to the dead. Entails, he said, were "contrary to good policy, tended to deceive honest traders who gave credit on the visible possession of such estates, discouraged the holder from improving his land, and sometimes did injury to the morals of youth by rendering them independent of and disobedient to their parents." "To annul this privilege, and, instead of an aristocracy of wealth, of more harm and danger than benefit to society, to make an opening for the aristocracy of virtue and talent," Jefferson introduced his bill for the abolition of entails. It met, of course, with the fiercest resistance. Strenuous efforts were made to amend the bill in such a way as to break its force. But Jefferson stood firm, and the bill passed substantially in the form in which he desired. Tenure by fee tail was abolished; lands and slaves could no longer be prevented by law from falling into the hands of their rightful owners. There was now but one prop for the landed aristocracy. That was the principle of primogeniture, and through the efforts of Jefferson that, too, was soon removed. The blow dealt by these reforms fell heavily on the old families and the recoil upon Jefferson was severe. The great land holders of the State were henceforth his bitter

enemies, and their children and children's children became enemies of his memory.

Jefferson's next measure was perhaps as important in its far reaching effects as the one just mentioned. He introduced into the legislature and carried through it a bill for the naturalization of foreigners. The conditions of becoming a citizen were made easier than any other government perhaps had ever before dared to make them. The alien was simply to show a residence of two years within the State, declare his intentions of remaining in the State, and give assurances of his good faith and loyalty. Minors, the children of naturalized parents, were admitted to citizenship without legal formalities, as were minors who came to America without their parents. The extremely liberal features of this bill were embodied by Congress in its first naturalization law, and incorporated in all subsequent legislations respecting citizenship. Notwithstanding the war and the unfavorable naturalization laws, immigrants were coming into Virginia at this time by thousands and it was not an unwise political move upon the part of Jefferson to come forward as the champion of the strangers' rights in their new home. It is not suggested, however, that he was induced by ulterior political reasons to introduce the bill. Easy naturalization* and easy expatriation† were a part of his general theory of easy government.

The next act of Jefferson in the legislature was one that he regarded—and students of politics will agree with him—as being of more importance than the Declaration of Independence. He brought up the subject of religious liberty, attempting to secure the enactment of the following just and comprehensive law: "No man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, ministry, or place whatsoever; nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burdened in his body or goods; nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief; but all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinion in matters of religion; and

*See Naturalization, page 314.
†See Expatriation, page 212.

the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge or affect their civil capacities."

The advocacy of this measure brought on the bitterest contest in which Jefferson was ever engaged. It was the beginning of his long warfare with the clergy. In terms peculiar to theological combat he was denounced as the enemy of religion and as an atheist. The clergy at first were successful. The bill failed to pass. Some of its provisions, however, were acceded to by the legislature. The law declaring unorthodox opinion to be criminal was repealed, attendance at church was made voluntary and dissenters were allowed to withhold their contributions from the Episcopal Church. These were substantial gains, but they were far from religious liberty as aimed at by Jefferson. For three years he fought for the complete separation of Church and State, and then, being called to a higher station, he left his plans in the hands of his able and indispensable coadjutors, George Wythe, and his young disciple, James Madison. In 1786, after a struggle of ten years, Jefferson had the supreme satisfaction of seeing his bill pass without material change.

He did not over-estimate the importance of his efforts in behalf of religious liberty.* If the Republic of the United States is new in any important sense, if it has introduced anything really novel among human institutions, that new thing is the separation of Church and State. The world has had its democracies, its republics, its governments with a trinal division of powers, its representative systems, but it has never before known such a thing as a free state existing side by side with a free church, and along with this an almost perfect freedom of religious opinion. This is what Virginia needed and what the United States needed, and Jefferson saw the need more clearly than any man of his time.

The man who wrote the words "all men are created equal" could not but be expected to chafe under the institutions of slavery. Jefferson was an abolitionist in theory, but practical abolition presented insuperable objections to his mind. His

*See Religion, page 357.

plan was to bring about the freedom of the negroes by gradual emancipation.* He drew up and offered a bill preventing the further importation of slaves by sea or land. This bill, which readily passed, was intended as the first of a series that should remove every vestige of slavery† from the State. His scheme, briefly stated, was to regard as lawfully free all slave-born children, to educate them at the public expense, and when they were grown, to transplant them to some distant and isolated colony where they might enjoy under a mild protectorate the privileges of self-government. He did not believe that the negro could live as a free man side by side with the white man, but he did most sincerely believe that he ought to be free. And he believed that he would be free. "Nothing," he said, "was more clearly written in the book of fate." Very little nevertheless, came of his elaborate scheme for emancipation. "The public mind would not bear it," he said; and it does not appear that after the Revolutionary period he was ever very industrious in his efforts to prepare the public mind to bear it.

A bill that was dearer even to Jefferson's heart than that for the freedom of the slaves was one for the diffusion of knowledge.‡ He saw that a democracy must rest upon the enlightenment of the masses and he brought forward his system; free elementary schools for all the children of the State for a term of three years; high schools at convenient places for superior and ambitious youths; a State university at the top. Many States of the Union have adopted this system, but Virginia was not prepared for it when Jefferson proposed it. The measure failed in the legislature more completely than any of its author's cherished reforms.

Early in 1777 Jefferson proposed to the legislature a complete revision of the laws of Virginia. The proposal was adopted, and he was appointed chairman of the revising committee. His colleagues on the committee were Edmund Pendleton, George Wythe, George Mason and T. L. Lee.

*See Emancipation, page 201.
†See Slavery, page 382.
‡See Education, page 194.

Mason resigned on the ground that he was not a lawyer, and Lee soon died. The work, therefore, fell upon Jefferson, Pendleton and Wythe, and as Pendleton was not skilful at such business, the burden of the task fell upon Jefferson and his old law preceptor. For two years these two worked upon the revision, going over the whole body of British and colonial statutes, and extracting therefrom a concise and coherent system of law for the future government of Virginia. The report of the revisers consisted of one hundred and twenty-six bills, but these were not adopted in a mass. Bills included in the revision were taken up from time to time and passed as the temper of the legislature permitted and the needs of the hour demanded. In 1785 the report was taken up systematically. Jefferson was far away from Virginia at this time, but he had left his work in faithful hands. Through the persistent efforts of his youthful neighbor and political ally, James Madison, most of the work of the revision was enacted into law.

JEFFERSON AS GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA.

In 1779, at the age of thirty-six, Jefferson was elected Governor of Virginia by the legislature of the State. His rival for the honor was the trusted friend of his youth, John Page, one of the wealthiest men in Virginia and an ardent patriot. The contest was conducted in the most decent manner imaginable, and ended with good humor on both sides. Page sent his successful friend a note of congratulation and good wishes. Jefferson's reply is a model of delicacy and tact. "It had given me much pain," he said, "that the zeal of our respective friends should have ever placed us in the situation of competitors. I was comforted, however, with the reflection that it was their competition, not ours, and that the difference of the numbers which decided between us was too insignificant to give you a pain or me a pleasure, had our dispositions toward each other been such as to admit these sensations." Page had a long and honorable public career, and lived to see the day when it was Jefferson's time to congratulate him as Governor of Virginia.

The two remained close friends, and when Jefferson was President he took special pains to provide Page with a profitable sinecure.

When he took his seat as Governor on June 1st, 1779, Virginia was in a sad plight. The French alliance, which had just been concluded, had aroused England to a bitter and cruel policy, and had not as yet aroused a corresponding zeal in America. If America was to become an accession to France, it was the interest of England, her commissioners declared, to render that accession of as little avail as possible. Pillage and the torch and extermination were now to be the means of subjugation. The brunt of the new warfare was to be borne by the South. The fairest scene for the ravaging of the invader was Virginia. On the west—and her western frontier extended to the Mississippi—the Indians incited by English agents were threatening to cross the Alleghanies and destroy the civilization of the border counties. On the east, broad, deep streams invited British men-of-war to ascend and efface the important places of the State, for there were no boats and no forts to prevent them. On the south the armies of Cornwallis were harrying the Carolinas and pressing hard upon the border. At the North was Washington, calling for assistance.

The State was helpless to resist an invasion. Her four armed vessels, which mounted in all but sixty-two guns, were so poorly manned that they were practically useless. Her militia, considering the vast area to be defended, was very small; worse still, it was inexperienced; and worst of all, it was wretchedly supplied with the munitions of war. There was but one good gun for four or five men. There were no saddles, blankets, tents, and there was no money with which to buy these things. The normal military resources of the State had been exhausted in responding to the call of Washington and Congress.

To defend the State successfully in such circumstances required a great administrator and a great warrior, and Jefferson was neither. He was the author of some pleasing speculations in political science, he was a bold reformer of the jurisprudence of his State, but he had never been tested for practical states-

manship. He entered upon his arduous duties with decision and energy, and for a year at least his administration moved along fairly well. In the west the brilliant George Rogers Clarke captured Colonel Hamilton, the English leader of the Indians, and sent him in chains to Jefferson. The captive was a dangerous man and had inflicted wanton barbarities upon the Americans. Jefferson, in retaliation, chained him and threw him into a dungeon. Protests arose, and the Governor bending to Washington's judgment finally unshackled the prisoner and admitted him to parole. The capture of Hamilton and his forces was a most fortunate event for Virginia, for it freed her western border from the danger of Indian incursions; it was also fortunate for the American cause, for it secured to the Americans the possession of a vast area (the North West Territory) that otherwise would have been claimed by the English when settling the terms of the treaty of peace.

Jefferson's first year in office passed without disaster, and he was re-elected for a second term. Serious troubles now began. The enemy was pressing hard upon the southern border and the most strenuous action was imperative. Gates went south in 1780 to take command, and it was Jefferson's judgment that if Virginia was to be saved from the scourge of a ruthless invasion it must be through Gates. All his efforts, therefore, were directed toward strengthening the hands of that general in the Carolinas. The counties were scoured for men; wagons (including those of the Governor) were impressed into service; blacksmith shops were converted into armories; ladies were asked—and not in vain—to contribute their jewels to the cause. But all this exertion came to naught. In August, 1780, Gates was defeated with shame and disaster at Camden, South Carolina, and the march of the enemy northward, although impeded, could not be checked. In October a British fleet of sixty vessels, with three thousand regulars under General Leslie, sailed into Hampton Roads, where they remained waiting for a junction with Cornwallis. Greene and the yeomanry of North Carolina were making traveling slow and difficult for that

officer, and Leslie, after waiting a month, sailed away with his whole armament.

Early in January (1781) news came to Richmond—the little town had just become the capital of the State—that the British fleet had again entered the Chesapeake and was ascending the James. Jefferson called out the militia and began to move the public property to Westham, a village on the James above the head of navigation. The foe was under the command of the once brilliant but now cautious and feeble Benedict Arnold. There was not a handful of raw militia to oppose his regulars, and resistance would have been a mockery. No resistance was offered, and the region lay at the mercy of the traitor. He looted the town of all its military stores and of such public property as Jefferson had failed to save. After remaining in Richmond for one day, he then dropped down the James, plundering as he went. In the consternation that prevailed personal safety was the law of the hour. The members of the Governor's Council and of the assembly gave up all to save their families and themselves. Jefferson was indefatigable in supervising the removal of the military stores and public property. Having accompanied his family on their way to a place of safety, he turned back and was pushing on to Manchester when his horse sank dead beneath him. With the saddle and bridle on his back he went to a farm house near by and secured an unbroken colt. His excellent horsemanship now stood him in good stead. He mounted the colt and sped on. In his six days' absence from Richmond, he was eighty-four hours in the saddle.

Upon the departure of Arnold, Jefferson and the legislature returned to Richmond and resumed the business of government. But civil government was now at an end in Virginia. Cornwallis and Tarleton had crossed the border and were conducting a warfare unworthy of their race and their own better natures. The legislature conferred almost absolute power upon Jefferson, but this availed little. What was needed was muskets, and these could not be procured, for there was no money with which to buy them, and there were no factories in which they

could be made. Jefferson felt his helplessness and longed for the day when his tenure of office should cease. His term expired on June 1st, 1781, but the Assembly, then trying to hold sessions at Charlottesville near Monticello, neglected to choose a successor, and for twelve days Virginia was without a Governor. A party arose advocating a dictator for the crisis. This plan Jefferson opposed with all his might. "The very thought," he declared, "was treason against the people, was treason against mankind in general." Whether Jefferson could have been elected for a third term or not is problematical. In the legislature there was considerable muttering. One member openly charged the Governor with incompetency. Jefferson removed the question of his re-election by declining to serve further. Through his influence his friend General Nelson was chosen as his successor. Supreme military power was conferred upon Nelson, but he proved to be as powerless as Jefferson to bring relief from the invader, and his dictatorial power only served to make him unpopular. In a few months he threw up his office in disgust. There was no relief until Washington should come down from the north.

The day after his term of office expired, Jefferson was visited at his home at Monticello by a body of raiders detached by Tarleton. The object of the visit was to carry away Jefferson as a rich prize of war, but a lucky circumstance balked the enterprise. Jefferson having been warned that the enemy was coming to Monticello, put his family into safe hands and promptly sent it away. He was perfectly cool in the midst of alarms. He lingered to save some of his cherished papers. After remaining as long as he thought prudent, he went to his blacksmith shop to get his horse, which he had ordered to be shod fresh for a hard run. Before mounting he ascended the hill a little way, and at a favorite spot, with the aid of his telescope he surveyed Charlottesville and the whole region round about, and could see no trace of an enemy. He listened, and there was perfect stillness. Concluding that the alarm was false, he determined to return to his mansion and save a few more of his papers. He had gone toward the house but a little way when

he noticed that in kneeling to level his telescope, his light walking sword had slipped from its sheath. He returned to where he had used his spy-glass. While there he took another look, and saw that Charlottesville was overrun with British soldiers. He mounted his horse and escaped. If he had returned to his mansion, as was his original intention, he would surely have been captured, for the troopers by an unsuspected route had entered his doors five minutes after his departure.

The mansion at Monticello, thanks to Tarleton's orders, escaped serious pillage or damage. Though the house itself was not plundered or burnt, the rest of Governor Jefferson's property suffered severely at the hands of the enemy. All the stock and farm products that might be of service were carried off, the rest being wantonly destroyed. Jefferson was especially outraged at the treatment of his slaves. Twenty-seven of these were carried off by Cornwallis. Most of them returned afterwards, but died of a pestilence contracted while in captivity. The dislike of England that showed itself so emphatically in Jefferson's subsequent career may be ascribed largely to Cornwallis' general devastation of Virginia, his own experience of wanton outrage lending a personal tinge to his bitterness.

On October 19th, 1781, the ravages of Cornwallis were brought to an end at Yorktown, and peace and civil law resumed their sway in Virginia. But victory did not bring peace to Jefferson's mind. The public disapprobation* of his conduct as Governor continued to disturb him long after every one else had ceased to think of the matter. He would not rest without what we should call a "vindication." He had himself elected from Albemarle to the Assembly expressly that he might in person meet certain charges that it was said would be brought against him. At the proper time he arose and asked for the charges. No one had any charges to make. "Not a word was heard in reply." Jefferson then made a statement exculpating himself from every real and fancied charge. The legislature was in the kindest humor with him—it was just two months after Yorktown—and

*See Approbation, page 140.

it ought to have been, for many of its members had run from Arnold faster than he. It accordingly in all sincerity promptly passed without a dissenting voice a resolution thanking Thomas Jefferson, Esquire, for his impartial, upright and attentive administration while in office, and declaring in the strongest manner that it entertained a high opinion of his ability, rectitude and integrity as chief magistrate of the Commonwealth. For all that, his career as Governor was a sore point with Jefferson. In his Memoir the only thing he relates of the period of his governorship concerns his connection with William and Mary College, to which institution he was appointed visitor in 1779. He skips his administration completely, saying that to write his own history of these two years would be to write a history of the revolution in Virginia for the period. In omitting this subject Jefferson showed good taste, but his reasons for so doing convict him of a conspicuous inconsistency, for he wrote copiously of himself in all other public capacities.

Early in 1782 Jefferson left the legislature. Though his exculpation had been complete, yet continued brooding over the attacks upon him induced a morbid state of mind, which practically withdrew him from all association with the world. This course was severely criticised by his enemies, and to his friends it was a source of deep regret. Colonel Monroe, a neighbor, ventured in the name of friendship to attempt to recall him to more healthy views of life; but his appeals were of no avail, for they reached Jefferson while he was experiencing the deepest sorrow of his life. In September, 1782, his wife, who had been in failing health since she fled from Richmond on Arnold's approach, expired. The blow was no less prostrating for being expected, and he abandoned himself to an excess of grief.

Two months after, Jefferson was appointed by Congress a Plenipotentiary to Europe. Madison had been instrumental in bringing about the appointment. He wrote that the death of his wife had probably changed the sentiment of Mr. Jefferson with regard to public life, and that all the reasons which had led to his original appointment still existed. In June, 1781, the

same post had been offered to Jefferson, but he had refused to serve, preferring to return to the legislature to clear himself of any charges that might be brought against him. He now accepted the appointment for reasons afterward stated in his Memoir. "I had, two months before that, lost the cherished companion of my life, in whose affections, unabated on both sides, I had lived the last ten years in unchequered happiness. With the public interests the state of my mind concurred in recommending the change of scene proposed."

Though Jefferson at once set to work to put his private affairs in order, the purposes of the mission were so far advanced by the spring of 1783 that there was no necessity for him to sail. The appointment, however, was of the utmost consequence in his life. It presented new interests and lifted him from the gloom into which he had allowed himself to sink.

In June, 1783, he was elected to Congress. He soon resumed the influence and activity of former sessions and acquired a leadership which, in view of the ability of his colleagues, is not to be rated cheaply. He served on every important committee, and was chairman of the committees on the Peace Treaty, on the Treasury, on the Public Debt, and on Commercial Relations with the nations of Europe. He headed his fellow-delegates in the execution of the deed by which Virginia ceded to the general government the entire Territory of the Northwest; and it was with peculiar pleasure that he thus saw consummated a measure due so largely to his own initiation. His plan for the government of this Territory, submitted by him to Congress late in the session, was one of his greatest contributions to our political history. Briefly speaking, it provided for the development, along lines of local self-government, of all acquired territory, and assured the ultimate statehood of each growing community in the West. In his plan no detail was neglected. The names (many of them absurdly fanciful) and boundaries of the States were proposed, and the nature of the temporary government to be established in them; and the conditions of their admission to full statehood were all clearly laid down. Among these conditions by far the most important and far-reaching was

the clause prohibiting, in those States, after 1800, slavery or involuntary servitude. This clause killed the plan for the time being, but the matter was taken up again in 1787, and a bill was passed following Jefferson's original draft.

It was at this session of Congress that the subject of coinage and of the money unit came up before the Committee on Finance, of which Jefferson was a member. He considered the unit proposed by Mr. Morris, the financier (the fourteen hundred and fortieth part of a dollar) as "too minute for ordinary use, and too laborious for computation, either by the head or in figures," and suggested a modification that was adopted by Congress. He also proposed four coins in the decimal ratio—viz., the gold piece of ten dollars, the silver dollar, the silver tenth of a dollar, and the copper hundredth of a dollar.*

JEFFERSON IN FRANCE.

In May, 1784, Congress for the fourth time appointed Jefferson to a foreign post. The chief duty assigned him was to negotiate treaties of commerce with foreign nations, and John Adams and Benjamin Franklin were his colleagues. He reached Paris, his official residence, on the 6th of August, accompanied by his eldest daughter, Martha. He placed her at a fashionable convent school and entered upon his duties. In the strict fulfilment of their mission, Jefferson and his colleagues had at first but poor results to show. In France the Farmers General, into whose hands monopolies granted by the crown had put absolute control of all imports, had too strong a grip to be broken. American products, especially tobacco, came exclusively under their control. What is more, Jefferson derived no substantial benefit from the additional powers conferred on him when, in 1785, he formally succeeded Franklin as Minister Plenipotentiary to the court of France. Adams had some months previously been sent to the court of England and Jefferson was left in France as the sole representative of his coun-

*See Money, page 309.

try. In all matters which did not concern the immemorial privileges of monopolies, his intercourse with the French Government was cordial and successful. He had many claims to recognition which would have been lacking in any other American of the day, with the sole exception of Franklin. He was known personally to many French officers, and had entertained at Monticello Frenchmen of eminent attainments in civil life. His State papers had had wide circulation; and the publication of his "Notes on Virginia," soon after his arrival in Paris, confirmed the popular opinion of him as a man of power, and a happy and forceful writer. His manners were frank, graceful, and genial. Above all, he was known to be thoroughly in accord with those sentiments of liberty and of national rights at that time so popular among even the nobility of France.

But, however much these advantages served him, he still had to confront manifold prejudices in all that concerned commerce. He had to meet formal complaints presented by the French ministers against the conduct of certain individual States of the American Confederation touching the treaty with France. It was broadly intimated that in consequence of the separate action of certain States, arrangements with them, as a whole, could not be depended upon. A vicious system of over-trading in Europe, pursued by too many Americans after the Peace of 1783, brought results which completely blocked anything like a secure and advantageous treaty of commerce. Even in France much doubt of America's credit prevailed. In England, Adams was subjected to repeated humiliation on this score, for the whole American people were there indiscriminately branded as cheats and swindlers. Jefferson, on the single occasion of his presentation at the English court, fancied that he himself was the object of this feeling. He felt that "it was impossible for anything to be more ungracious than the royal notice of Mr. Adams and himself." In a letter of January, 1786, he concisely sketched the causes of America's unsavory reputation. "Two circumstances are particularly objected to us; the non-payment of our debts, and the want of energy in our government. These discourage a connection with us." And he wrote his old friend,

Gov. Page (May, 1786): "I consider the extravagance which has seized them (my countrymen) as a more baneful evil than Toryism was during the war. It is the more so, as the example is set by the best and most amiable characters among us. * * These things have been more deeply impressed on my mind by what I have seen and heard in England. That nation hates us, their ministers hate us, and their King, more than all other men. * * * Our overtures of commercial arrangements have been treated with a derision which shows their firm persuasion, that we shall never unite to suppress their commerce or even impede it."

In France, Jefferson finally secured, by the most indefatigable exertions, some important advantages to American commerce. The new regulations, called the "Ordinance of Bernis," suppressed many duties on American products, abolished certain others for specific periods, and in general made concessions such as were granted to no other country besides America. The moral effects of the treaty were, to Jefferson, more important than the material results secured. He wrote Jay concerning it, in October, 1786: "It furnished a proof of the disposition of the King and his ministers to produce a more intimate intercourse between the two nations. Indeed, I must say that as far as I am able to see, the friendship of the people of this country toward us is cordial and general, and that it is a kind of security for the friendship of ministers who cannot, in any country, be uninfluenced by the voice of the people."

Jefferson's attention was drawn to a matter which afterwards became a problem of national importance. This related to the course to be pursued toward the Barbary powers. Every seafaring country of Europe had long submitted to the capture and confiscation of vessels flying their flag, and the holding of the crews for ransom. An American vessel was now, for the first time, subjected to this treatment. Adams and Jefferson, after consulting together, took opposite sides of the question. Jefferson took strong ground for forcibly putting a stop to such outrages; and in his request for instructions from Congress urged this course. But the negotiations were long drawn out, and

nothing was decided upon before Jefferson returned to America. In a letter to Jay, of August, 1785, he argues for a naval force, "that being the only weapon by which we can reach an enemy." To the re-establishment of a navy* he saw objections; but in view of the aptitude of the American nation for seafaring and "their determination to continue as carriers on the water," these objections were more than offset by the advantages accruing.

Though removed from the immediate scene, his interest in the affairs of his native State was in no wise abated. He arranged for procuring a statue of General Washington. He consulted architects and furnished plans for a State-house in Richmond. Several letters passed between him and General Washington on the subject of improving the navigation of the Potomac and of running a canal through the Dismal Swamp. He followed the rise and growth of the desire on the part of the people of Kentucky to separate from Virginia, and satisfied himself that "the separation was expedient whenever the people of Kentucky should have agreed among themselves."

In national affairs, Jefferson, through his correspondence, kept himself thoroughly familiar with each step in the formation and adoption of the Constitution.† His attitude on the subject of the Constitution was afterwards much misrepresented by his political opponents. The charge that he had opposed its adoption had no foundation. Though jealous for the State and for the integrity of its powers, no man appreciated better than he the urgent need of a general government of greater power and more compact form than the slipshod Congress of Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary days.

Jefferson did not confine his stay to Paris. In the second year of his residence abroad he crossed the channel and spent nearly two months in England, chiefly in the rural districts. In the hope that the waters of Aix in southern France would build up his health, which had been depleted by the breaking of his right wrist, he journeyed to that watering place. His route carried him up the Seine and down the Saône and the Rhone,

*See Navy, page 316.
†See Constitution, page 167.

and the journey consumed the better part of the three spring months of 1787. It was at this time that he crossed the boundaries of Italy and went as far as Genoa. In the next year he went, by engagement, to meet Adams at Amsterdam, and when their business was dispatched, proceeded up the Rhine as far as Strassburg. Everywhere he noted the people, their condition, habits, and daily occupations; and no economic question dependent upon soil, climate, or products escaped his eager inquiry. While in Italy he found an excellent species of rice. When he attempted to get a small quantity of this for introduction into America, he found its exportation was forbidden by law. But his love for science did not allow him to be baffled. He purchased a sack and bribed a muleteer to smuggle it over the borders.

The extremely practical character of his travels is shown in a letter to General Lafayette: "In the great cities I go to see what travelers think alone worthy of being seen; but I make a job of it, and generally gulp it down in a day. On the other hand, I am never satiated with rambling through the fields and farms, examining the culture and cultivators with a degree of curiosity which makes some take me for a fool and others to be much wiser than I am. * * * I think you have not made this journey. It will be a great comfort to you to know from your own inspection the condition of all the provinces of your own country. This is perhaps the only moment of your life in which you can acquire that knowledge. And to do it most effectually you must be absolutely incognito. * * * You will feel a sublime pleasure in the course of this investigation, and a sublime one hereafter when you shall be able to apply your knowledge to the softening of their beds or the throwing a morsel of meat into their kettle of vegetables."

His correspondence is full of the freest expressions of opinion on all he saw and learned in Europe. The range of subjects treated, the number of letters, and the length of most of them, are little short of marvelous, and bear testimony to the system and to the unwearying energy with which he worked. To different persons he sent new astronomical discoveries and cal-

culations; he described improvements in musical instruments; narrated explorations by savants into the domain of natural history; sent descriptions of specimens of architecture; expressed his opinions on statues and paintings, and gave faithful accounts of agriculture and mechanical inventions.

Political and social conditions in every country and district he visited found in him the shrewdest observer, and the most painstaking recorder. The highest tribute that can be paid to the correspondence of any man can be paid to that of Jefferson at this period. Most of his letters are fresh and readable even at this day.

Foreign travel taught Jefferson a lesson which it would be well if all American travelers could learn. He was quick to see the excellences of other countries, though not less quick to see their shortcomings. The more he saw of other countries, the more highly he appreciated the superiority of his own. He never ceased to make the abuses of the civilization of Europe, and even of England, a text from which to preach the education of the masses of his own country. This spirit was especially characteristic of his attitude toward France. It must be remembered that he saw that country under conditions never paralleled in the history of the world. From the meeting of the Assembly of Notables, in February, 1787, he followed step by step the follies and defeats of the Crown and Nobility, until he saw armed conflict in the streets of Paris and the fall of the Bastile. In his Memoir, thirty years later, he wrote of these events; and though he had then clearly before him the horrors to which they subsequently led, yet his faith was not shaken in the ultimate good to humanity that resulted from the Revolution.*

Notwithstanding his intense interest in passing affairs, Jefferson's conduct as minister was most discreet. Though his house was frequented by men of all shades of opinion, his sense of the duties of an Ambassador did not suffer him to meddle in any matter which concerned merely the existing institutions of the

*See French Revolution, page 220.

country to which he had been sent. It might at first seem that an important exception to this rule of conduct would have to be made when Jefferson's relations with Lafayette are considered. Lafayette's perplexities as to the course he should pursue grew largely out of the sentiments in favor of popular movements acquired by his service in America, and they naturally appealed to Jefferson's deepest sympathy. He allowed himself to be drawn into giving advice by letter as well as orally to Lafayette and other Constitutionalists, on the proper form into which the new government of France should be thrown. Finally, the conflict between the monarchy and the popular party assumed most unexpectedly a phase which, in Jefferson's opinion, justified his interposing as a lover of human liberty. "I considered," he says, "a successful reformation of government in France as insuring a general reformation through Europe, and the resurrection, to a new life, of their people now ground to dust by the abuses of the governing powers. * * * I urged, most strenuously, an immediate compromise." He reduced his ideas to definite form in the shape of a Charter of Rights, to be signed by the King and every member of the three orders of the Assembly. This instrument he sent to M. de St. Etienne, a prominent member of the Third Estate, and a close friend of the Marquis de Lafayette. It was not adopted, but it led to Jefferson's being requested to attend and assist in the deliberations of the committee appointed to draft a Constitution. Jefferson was always ready to draw up a Constitution, but on this occasion his great good sense asserted itself. He excused himself from complying with this request, but he did receive at his own house "a number," to give his own words, "of leading patriots of honest but differing opinions, sensible of the necessity of effecting a condition by mutual sacrifices, knowing each other, and not afraid, therefore, to unbosom themselves mutually." The residence of the American minister was certainly not the place at which the legislators of France should meet, and Jefferson was quick to recognize the fact. His own words tell us how he counteracted his indiscretion. "Duties of exculpation were now incumbent on me. I waited on Count

Montmorin the next morning, and explained to him with truth and candor how it had happened that my house had been made the scene of conferences of such a character. He told me he already knew everything which had passed, that so far from taking umbrage at the use made of my house on that occasion, he earnestly wished I would habitually assist at such conferences, being sure I should be useful in moderating the warmer spirits, and promoting a wholesome and practicable reformation only."

In the autumn of 1788 Jefferson had asked for a leave of absence for six months. He wished to return to America, where his private affairs demanded his attention. He felt also that his daughters should be placed amid the surroundings in which their lives were to be passed. Legitimate ambition, also, may have had much to do with his wish to look again upon the current of home politics. It was, however, to be only a look, for he left France with the intention of being absent no longer than the time specified. His request was granted, and in October, 1789, he set sail for America. Two months later he reached Monticello, after an absence of five years.

JEFFERSON AS SECRETARY OF STATE.

On Jefferson's arrival in America he found awaiting him from President Washington an offer of the Secretaryship of State. For some months he hesitated to accept it, nor was this hesitation feigned. He was by no means insensible to the honor paid him, and his deep reverence for Washington moved him to immediate acceptance. There were, however, deterrent reasons not to be passed over lightly. He had acquired skill and self-confidence in the duties of Ambassador to France; and, above all things, his ardent wish was to follow as a spectator the course of the French Revolution. To accept the office now tendered him would put upon him more onerous duties, and he had real apprehensions of his lack of familiarity with the routine duties required. Mr. Madison, at the President's request, visited him, and by his representations re-enforced Washington's appeals.

Jefferson yielded to their combined wishes, and in March, 1790, arrived in New York City, then the seat of government, to enter upon the discharge of his duties.

The colleagues whom he found already serving in the Cabinet were Alexander Hamilton of New York, Secretary of the Treasury; Henry Knox of Massachusetts, Secretary of War; and Edmund Randolph of Virginia, Attorney-General.

In vigor of intellect, self-confidence, and experience in public affairs, Jefferson immediately took his place by the side of Hamilton. These two became the dominant figures of the Cabinet, the other two members merely reflecting their views. They differed radically in their ideas of finance, of government,* and even of the constitution of society. That Washington should bring them together as his official advisers excited no suspicion that their lack of harmony might interfere with their successful co-operation. His cherished wish was to obviate factional strife by giving representation to the diverse political elements. The idea, though afterwards found impossible to realize, was typical of his moral grandeur.

Hamilton and Jefferson now met personally for the first time. Their relations in the beginning were pleasant, for each was disposed to look upon the other without prejudice. Each was genial in temper and manners, frank, and not given to duplicity. Their outward friendliness lasted longer than would have been the case had not circumstances delayed the occasion of their first decided difference. While the President, on general questions, took the opinion of the entire Cabinet, on questions which pertained especially to one department, he consulted only the head of that department. Questions of finance, upon which Jefferson and Hamilton would soonest have differed, were especially subject to this rule. The Funding Bill, which concerned the payment of Revolutionary securities, had been passed by Congress before Jefferson entered the Cabinet. Its logical successor, the Assumption Bill,† upon which Congress was engaged when he entered the Cabinet, was regarded as belong-

*See Hamilton, page 238.
†See Assumption, page 142.

ing distinctively to the Department of the Treasury, as was the Impost and Excise Bill which was necessary to the carrying out of these financial measures. Jefferson's opposition to them was well known at the time, and was freely expressed in his writings, but they were not made subjects of Cabinet discussions. In January, 1791, the Bill for a United States Bank* came up for the President's signature. Washington regarded it as of such general importance that he asked the opinion of every member of his Cabinet individually. Here occurred the first serious disagreement between Hamilton and Jefferson.

The Bill, in its conception, was Hamilton's. Knox joined in urging the President to sign it. Jefferson and Randolph, on the other hand, pronounced unconstitutional even the charter upon which it was based. Though the President finally signed it, there was no change in his cordial relations with Jefferson. Indeed, this Bill has for us a greater significance than merely personal difference between heads of departments could give it. It marked the first clear division of the country into political parties.

Upon the personal relations of Hamilton and Jefferson, much misconception has prevailed; and this has been exaggerated by the extreme bitterness between their respective partisans. Jefferson's side is set forth in the diary begun by him in August, 1791, which is commonly known as the "Anas." This covers the entire period of his secretaryship, and contains much that is historically valuable, but the purpose that palpably dominates the whole is to keep a record of Hamilton's actions and expressions, and this often leads Jefferson into a recital of mere trivialities and gossip. Jefferson counted upon this diary to furnish campaign material for combatting what he always maintained to be Hamilton's monarchical designs upon the government. He held that Hamilton was the head and front of a monarchical party—one which he claimed, on his arrival in New York City, was not to be lightly esteemed either in numbers or in influence. At first many of the entries in the "Anas" were written down

*See Bank, National, page 145.

days or weeks after the events recorded; but they grew more exact in substance and date, as their author became more inimical to Hamilton or more convinced that his designs were nefarious. A proof of the purpose of the "Anas" may be found in the fact that they virtually ceased with Hamilton's death. Jefferson himself carefully reviewed them in 1818, and wrote a long and vigorous preface to them, embodying knowledge acquired since their writing; and the whole was left among his important papers with the evident intention that they should be given to the world. That such questionable material should be given to the world after every pretext for its publication had passed away, raised a cry of indignation which the best efforts of Jefferson's most partial biographers have not succeeded in silencing.

Another reason which kept Jefferson and Hamilton within the bounds of personal decorum was the profound reverence which each felt for the President,* and this continued operative long after each had come to know the real feelings of the other. In July, 1792, however, after more than two years of intercourse, a matter arose involving the direct issue of personal veracity. In its origin the trouble was ostensibly of an official character. A peculiar train of circumstances had led up to it. Early in 1791 Jefferson had offered to Philip Freneau, the leading Republican editor of the country, the post of clerk for foreign languages in the office of the Secretary of State. Jefferson was at the time personally unacquainted with him, but he knew his power as a publicist and wanted the influence of his pen for campaign purposes. That Jefferson from the beginning contemplated Freneau's editing a paper is shown by the language of the letter offering him the appointment. "The salary, indeed, is very low, being but two hundred and fifty dollars, but also it gives so little to do as not to interfere with any calling the person may choose which would not absent him from the seat of government." And again, his personal interest in Freneau's acceptance was candidly stated in a letter to Madison. Jefferson

*See Washington, page 421.

was under the impression that Freneau had declined. "I am sincerely sorry. * * * I should have given him the perusal of all my letters of foreign intelligence and all foreign newspapers, the publication of all proclamations and other public notices within my department, and the printing of the laws which, added to his salary, would have been a considerable aid."

Freneau* did, however, finally accept, though not without hesitation, and coming to Philadelphia, then the seat of government, established his paper, the National Gazette. He devoted himself to lashing unmercifully Hamilton's policy of finance and the monarchical and aristocratic tendencies of the ultra-Federalist school. It is truly remarkable that Hamilton should so long have refrained from replying. In July, 1792, however, he could no longer restrain himself. Over an assumed signature, he assailed Freneau in the Federalist organ, Fenno's Gazette of the United States.

While the assault was in formal terms directed against Freneau, it was but too evident that its real animus was against Jefferson. The first of the attacks was a short article asking, in all pretended innocence, whether the editor of the National Gazette received a salary for translation or for publications, "the design of which was to vilify those to whom the voice of the people had committed the administration of our public affairs, to oppose the measures of government and by false insinuations to disturb the public peace." The second article was more bold and charged explicitly that Freneau's clerkship was merely a subterfuge, that not only had Jefferson employed the patronage of public office to the end above hinted at, but that he himself frequently contributed to the paper articles of a virulent character. The assaults upon Freneau were instantly answered by eager partisans, though, strange to say, in the columns of his own paper they were practically ignored. He contented himself with taking an affidavit before the Mayor of Philadelphia to the effect that not a line was ever directly or indirectly written,

*See Freneau, page 228.

dictated or composed for the National Gazette by Mr. Jefferson, and that the latter had no interest of any kind in the paper. Hamilton totally disregarded the oath but could produce no proof whatever for his charges, and he was driven to the generality that "presumptive facts and circumstances must afford the evidence."

As for the portions of the attack that concerned Jefferson, it was not until September that he took any public notice of them, for he was in Virginia while they continued, probably designing geometrical wheel-barrows and mould-boards of least resistance.

When he did finally take notice of them it was in answer to an appeal from the President himself, who at the same time forwarded an appeal of like tenor to Hamilton. To both parties Washington emphasized the disastrous results both at home and abroad of dissensions in his Cabinet, and he implored that there might be "mutual forbearance and temporizing yielding on all sides." Jefferson replied in a letter of great length and vigor, setting forth his "opinions against the views of Colonel Hamilton," and entering minutely into a discussion of Hamilton's charges against him. These Jefferson arranged under three heads: "First, with having written letters from Europe to my friends to oppose the present constitution while depending. Second, with a desire of not paying the public debt. Third, with setting up a paper to decry and slander the government." He emphatically denied each charge; but to the third he devoted the bulk of the letter, solemnly protesting that he had nothing to do with the management of Freneau's paper.

Hamilton's answer to Washington, of the same date as Jefferson's, was couched in more peaceful language, but in six days from that time he began upon Jefferson a second series of attacks, and continued them for four succeeding months. These attacks were direct and did not involve Freneau at all. His failure, however, to overthrow Freneau rendered totally impotent the attack upon Jefferson, and when Freneau brought out the fact that Hamilton himself was doing precisely what he had accused Jefferson of doing—namely, supporting a partisan

paper by means of the patronage of his department—the rest of Hamilton's charges fell harmless to the ground.

The question of the ethics involved in Jefferson's connection with Freneau may safely be left an open one; but it may be remarked that, from that day to the present, many influential editors have fared much better in the matter of Federal appointments than did Freneau. However, it may be questioned if any editor since Freneau has ever established a paper at the instigation of a Cabinet official. It is perhaps significant that we look in vain in Jefferson's "Anas" for any mention of overtures to Freneau or of this controversy.

The ultimate effect of the quarrel upon the prestige of Hamilton, both personally and politically, was fatal. "He lost," says Parton, "something which is of no value to an anonymous writer in a Presidential campaign, but it is of immense value to a public man—weight." Apart from the effect upon Hamilton, the effect upon the future of our country was of the greatest importance. The triumph of Hamilton meant a strong central government administered in the English spirit, while that of Jefferson meant a light and easy central government that would respond readily to the will of the populace; and the Freneau matter is of the utmost importance as it led the way to a decisive struggle before the tribunal of popular opinion.

Jefferson's Cabinet opinions and his recommendations and reports submitted to the House of Representatives concerned both domestic and foreign affairs and embraced a large range of subjects. The "Report on the Privileges and Restrictions of the Commerce of the United States in Foreign Countries" deserves especial notice. It was an elaboration of a tabulated statement previously made of commercial relations with the British and French dominions. It enters clearly but succinctly into the subject of our imports from Spain, Portugal, France, Great Britain, the United Netherlands, Denmark, and Sweden. It sets forth what commercial articles of ours were received by them, and on what terms. Universal free trade, Jefferson held, is as a principle most advantageous; but so long as foreign restrictions on our commerce and carrying trade continued,

they might best be counteracted by a policy of liberal reciprocity. In case any nation should refuse to enter into this policy, he proposes various methods of retaliation for discriminating restrictions. Throughout the paper he loses no opportunity of emphasizing Great Britain's rigorous attitude towards our commerce in contrast with the fair and equal principles of trade proposed by France. This paper contained the germs of all subsequent party discussion and divisions on the tariff.

To Jefferson and his contemporaries foreign relations were of superlative importance. And this is not strange. The young nation was just taking its place among hostile, or, at best, indifferent rivals. The diplomatic problems and issues of that day—even those which seemed most difficult and threatening—have passed completely away and left but little trace on our present national life. But the student of Jefferson's political activity must attempt at least to give them that prominence which they held in his mind. They were the more intense for being narrowed down to three countries alone—Spain, England and France.

Jefferson's business with Spain took the form of instructions to our Commissioners at Madrid. These discussed the troubles with the Indian tribes on the southern frontier, due largely to Spanish instigation, and the disputes over the boundaries and commerce. From this period dates the beginning of the agitation for the free navigation of the Mississippi. All these subjects were destined later to figure extensively in the negotiations connected with the Louisiana purchase.

Since the ratification of the Treaty of Peace, England's* attitude towards her former colonies had been uniformly indifferent, even contemptuous. Her unwillingness to show a conciliatory spirit on any point at issue became more and more marked until, in November, 1790, certain representations from Mr. Morris, our agent in England, rendered it, in Jefferson's opinion, "dishonorable to the United States, useless and even injurious, to renew the proposition for a treaty of commerce, or for the

*See England, page 202.

exchange of a Minister." These recommendations, as well as Jefferson's further one, that Mr. Morris' agency be discontinued, received the unanimous endorsement of the Cabinet. There were, in consequence, no further communications between the two countries until a more liberal government sent representatives to the United States in the autumn of 1791, nearly eight years after peace had been declared.

The new envoy, Mr. Hammond, had served his country in Paris at the time Jefferson was stationed there, and their personal acquaintance now brought about a courtesy of intercourse on both sides. Hammond communicated to Jefferson his powers to negotiate, but not to conclude, a treaty of commerce; and in December there commenced between them an official correspondence whose import was the mutual charge of infractions of the existing treaty. It culminated May, 1792, in what may be regarded as Jefferson's ablest State paper on Foreign Relations. The document is very long and takes up in detail every allegation of Hammond, the payments of debts owed to England, and England's violation of her promise to surrender, "with all convenient speed," certain parts of the American frontier. The paper, however, had no important effect upon the actions of England.

We have seen Jefferson's opinion of the friendship entertained by France for America. For many years after Yorktown, whatsoever differences arose concerned merely commercial relations and were insignificant. Nor were these friendly relations disturbed, even when, in November, 1792, Washington's Cabinet decided it expedient to suspend payment on the French debt. The king had been dethroned and the affairs of the nation seemed to the outside world to be in a state of chaos; but by February, 1793, Washington assured himself that the Revolution was a reality, and that the de-facto government must be recognized and its friendship cultivated. Payments on the debt were then resumed. So far there was no serious division in the Cabinet; but the events which now came heralded by every ship were more and more repellent to the conservative sense of the country. In January the king had been beheaded; in March

began the horrible excesses in the territory of La Vendée, and in April, 1793, came the announcement that the French Republic had declared war against England and had commissioned to the United States a new Minister who represented the extreme type of the revolutionary movement.

The partiality of the Federalists for England and of the Republicans for France now clearly announced itself through the entire country. The Republicans recognized beneath the atrocities of the movement a contest between the monocratic and the democratic principles of government; and the sympathies of a large part of them were not to be extinguished because of excesses which they regarded as inevitable in the transition from despotism to freedom. It was a political necessity that as between England and France the United States should remain neutral, and Washington was fully alive to the fact. He hastened from Mount Vernon and laid before his Cabinet a list of questions for immediate settlement. Jefferson thus described the consultation:

"The first question, whether we should receive the French Minister, Genet, was proposed, and we agreed unanimously that he should be received; Hamilton at the same time expressing his great regret that any incident had happened which should oblige us to recognize the government. The next question was, whether he should be received absolutely, or with qualifications. Knox submitted at once to Hamilton's opinion that we ought to declare the treaty void. I was clear it remained valid. Randolph declared himself of the same opinion, but agreed to take further time to consider. We determined unanimously the last question, that Congress should not be called.

"On May 16th the President told me he had never a doubt about the validity of the treaty, but that since the question had been suggested he thought it ought to be considered; that this being done, I might now issue passports to seagoing vessels in the form prescribed by the French treaty."

The Cabinet agreed unanimously that the President should issue a proclamation of neutrality. This proclamation drew

down on Washington the vituperation of the Republican papers of the country. The voice of Freneau was the loudest of all. He did not stop short of insolence to Washington personally, and his conduct gave rise to the first difference recorded between Washington and Jefferson.

In the meantime Genet* had landed at Charleston and was acting in utter disregard of the prevailing neutrality laws. Before leaving Charleston, he had commissioned two privateers and granted powers to the consuls of France in America to try, condemn and sell captured prizes. He then proceeded overland to Philadelphia, the recipient of every honor in the towns through which he passed.

Jefferson in a letter to Monroe thus described the state of popular feeling: "The war between France and England seems to be producing an effect not contemplated. All the old spirit of 1776 rekindling the newspapers from Boston to Charleston proves this, and even the Monocrat papers are obliged to publish the most furious philippics against England. A French frigate took a British prize off the Capes of Delaware, the other day, and sent her up here. Upon coming in sight, thousands and thousands of the yeomanry of the city crowded and covered the wharfs. Never before was such a crowd seen there, and when the British colors were seen reversed and the French flying above them, they burst into peals of exultation. I wish we may be able to repress the spirit of the people within the limits of a fair neutrality."

A week later he indicated to Madison the cleavage of public sentiment: "On the one side, 1. The fashionable circles of Philadelphia, New York, Boston and Charleston (Natural Aristocrats). 2. Merchants trading on British capital. 3. Paper men. (All the old Tories are found in some one of the three descriptions.) On the other side, are 1. Merchants trading on their capital. 2. Irish merchants. 3. Tradesmen, mechanics, farmers, and every other description of our citizens."

Genet arrived in Philadelphia on May 16th, and was received

*See Genet, page 230.

by Washington with frankness and with expressions of a sincere and cordial regard for his nation. He immediately began a correspondence with Jefferson, the tone of which grew more violent as each unwarrantable request on his part was refused, or each cause of complaint satisfactorily explained. Jefferson was throughout most conciliatory; but he saw the unmistakable trend of Genet's utterances. He expressed his apprehension to Monroe: "I do not augur well of the mode of conduct of the new French Minister; I fear he will enlarge the evils of those disaffected to his country. I am doing everything in my power to moderate the impetuosity of his movements, and to destroy the dangerous opinions which have been excited in him that the people of the United States will disavow the acts of their government, and that he has an appeal from the Executive to Congress and from both to the people."

The culmination of Genet's indiscretion was reached late in June when he repaired the *Little Sarah,* a capture of the Ambuscade, increased her armament, and commissioned her from Philadelphia under the name of *Little Democrat.* Hamilton was the first to be apprised of the matter. He immediately communicated his information to Jefferson and Knox, Washington and Randolph being absent in Virginia. It was unanimously agreed to ask the aid of the State authorities of Pennsylvania; and these immediately entered into negotiations with Genet. Jefferson himself also sought a personal interview with him, and found him much excited at what he considered the discrimination of our government against his country. Jefferson succeeded in calming him, and pressed him to detain the *Little Democrat* until the President should return. Jefferson's sympathies* did not blind him to the serious nature of the questions that would arise if the vessel should sail; but they rendered him, one is impelled to think, too easily assured that, "though she was to fall somewhere down the river, she would not sail." Hamilton and Knox were for erecting a battery, and, until the President could be heard from, for forcibly de-

*See France and England, page 217.

taining the ship. But Jefferson dissented with strong feeling, and as the President had left directions that action on any matter should be taken only on the unanimous decision of the Cabinet, the matter was left in suspense.

Jefferson's position was one of extreme delicacy. His sympathies with France were part of his mental life, and they were accentuated by the vivid remembrance of the hospitality and kindly treatment he received from that nation. His private wishes were undoubtedly that his country should recognize the many claims France had upon our gratitude; but he saw too clearly that such a course would bring disaster upon the infant country. He sincerely acquiesced, therefore, in Washington's policy of strict neutrality. So closely indeed did he follow the line of duty that Judge Marshall afterwards wrote of him: "The publication of his correspondence with Genet dissipated much of the prejudice which had been excited against him."

None the less, however, did the conduct of Genet fill Jefferson with chagrin and with apprehension that it would put weapons in the hands of the Federalists. He wrote to Monroe: "I fear the disgust of France is inevitable. We shall be to blame in part. But the Minister much more so. His conduct is indefensible by the most furious Jacobin. I only wish our countrymen may distinguish between him and his nation, and, if the case should ever be laid before them, may not suffer their affection to the nation to be diminished. Hamilton, sensible of the advantage they have got, is urging an appeal by the government to the people. Such an explosion would manifestly endanger a dissolution of the friendship between the nations, and ought, therefore, to be deprecated by every friend to our liberty; and no one but an enemy to it would wish to avail himself of the indiscretions of an individual to compromit two nations esteeming each other ardently. It will prove that the agents of the two peoples are either great bunglers or great rascals, when they cannot preserve that peace which is the universal wish of both."

On Washington's return to Philadelphia, he found the papers in the case of the *Little Democrat* marked for his "instant

attention." Jefferson had retired to his house outside the city. Washington dispatched to him a note showing an irritation never before seen in him, and asking his immediate presence. Jefferson replied in one of equal stiffness, couched in the third person, a mode of address he had never hitherto used towards Washington, assigning "a fever for the past few nights" as the cause of his leaving the city, and promising "that nothing but absolute inability would prevent his being in town to-morrow." Despite this personal friction, the pacific policy advocated by Jefferson during Washington's absence prevailed. The Cabinet decided that the legal questions involved should be referred "to persons learned in the laws;" and the British Minister was, in addition, informed that the vessel in controversy would not depart until the President's determination should be made known.*

Genet's intemperance of language continued. His insolence reached a pitch which made it necessary for the Cabinet to take up the question of dealing with him. They agreed unanimously that the French government should be requested to recall him; but on the question how the communication should be made, there was the usual division of opinion. Jefferson was for "expressing that desire with great delicacy; the others were for peremptory terms." The Cabinet met for three successive days. Every question broached called forth the warmest opposition from the one faction or the other. Much, however, was accomplished in spite of the incessant wrangling. Genet was to be informed that his recall had been asked—a victory for Hamilton; but no appeal was to be made to the people by a publication of the Genet correspondence—a victory for Jefferson. In general, more stringent rules were unanimously adopted for the maintenance of neutrality between the belligerents. Jefferson was instructed to draw up a letter asking the recall of Genet. His rough draft became, without a change, the official communication of the Cabinet. It takes high rank

* The *Little Democrat* did, however, put to sea two days later, in disregard of the assurance Jefferson claimed to have received from Genet.

among his foreign dispatches, for in it he treated a most delicate subject in a firm and unyielding and yet conciliatory spirit. As had been agreed upon, a copy was sent to Genet himself, and Jefferson accompanied it with an explanatory note of most considerate tone.

This, as far as it concerned Jefferson, closed the Genet incident, with the exception of one further communication. Genet had impudently sent to the President his instructions, implying his desire that they should be laid before Congress. Jefferson returned them, plainly informing him that the communications which were to pass between the Executive and Legislative branches could not be a subject for his interference. This was Jefferson's last official act as Secretary of State.

It had for nearly two years been Jefferson's purpose to retire from public life. At first, he set as the date the end of Washington's first term, but at each suggestion of his purpose to withdraw, Washington had, by pleading considerations of the public good as well as his own personal desires, prevailed upon him to remain. This he had consented with some reluctance to do until the Freneau matter, with the personal bitterness it engendered in the Cabinet, confirmed Jefferson's disinclination to a position which called for daily contest with an aggressive and untiring opponent. Considerations of personal pride, however, arrested his carrying out his purpose. In January, 1793, he wrote his daughter, Mrs. Randolph: "My operations at Monticello had been all made to bear upon the close of this session of Congress; my mind was fixed on it with a fondness which was extreme, the purpose firmly declared to the President when I became assailed from all quarters with a variety of objections. Among these it was urged that my retiring, just when I had been attacked in the public papers, would injure me in the eyes of the public, who would suppose I either withdrew from investigation, or because I had not a tone of mind sufficient to meet slander. These representations have for some weeks past shaken a determination which I thought the whole world could not have shaken." Jefferson's resolution to resign was not again broached, until the unpleasant events connected with the Genet

episode hurried him on to a resignation. July 31st he sent to the President a letter in which a decided tone of bitterness is to be discovered. One passage will suffice: "At the close, therefore, of the ensuing month of September, I shall beg leave to retire to scenes of greater tranquillity, from those which I am every day more and more convinced that neither my talents, tone of mind, nor time of life fit me." Jefferson went more fully into his reasons: "I expressed to him [Washington] my excessive repugnance to public life, the particular uneasiness of my situation in this place where the laws of society oblige me always to move exactly in the circles which I know to bear me peculiar hatred, that is to say, the wealthy aristocrats, the merchants closely connected with England, the new created paper fortunes; that thus surrounded, my words were caught, multiplied, misconstrued, and even fabricated and spread abroad to my injury; that he (Washington) saw, also, that there was such an opposition of views between myself and another part of the administration as to render it peculiarly unpleasing and to destroy the necessary harmony." At the further solicitation of the President, however, Jefferson agreed to continue in office through December.

On December 31st, 1793, therefore, Jefferson finally transmitted his resignation, couched in terms of the warmest cordiality and profoundest respect towards the President. He received in reply a letter which goes far towards refuting the idea that there was at this time an alienation between Washington and Jefferson, or that Jefferson averted an approaching alienation by resigning. No stronger summary of Jefferson's service in the Cabinet can be given than Washington's stately words of commendation and personal regard:

"Dear Sir: Since it has been impossible to prevail upon you to forego any longer the indulgence of your desire for private life, the event, however anxious I am to avert it, must be submitted to. But I cannot suffer you to leave your station without assuring you that the opinion which I have formed of your integrity and talents, and which dictated your original nomination, has been confirmed by the fullest experience, and that both have been

displayed in the discharge of your duty. Let a conviction of my most earnest prayers for your happiness accompany you in your retirement; and while I accept, with the warmest thanks, your solicitude for my welfare, I beg you to believe that I am, dear sir, Yours, etc.,

George Washington."

RETIREMENT.

In January, 1794, Jefferson reached Monticello to enjoy a retirement* which he intended should last many years. He was now in his fifty-first year, and he imagined, to judge from his correspondence, that his constitution was shattered and that he had become an old man. This feeling was merely the reaction following upon his withdrawal from the severe strain of his Cabinet life; but it served to enhance the sincerity of his protestations of contentment with his new environment. As a matter of fact, his bodily strength was that of a much younger man—the result of his temperate and regular habits. A few months found him completely restored to health.

His domestic life had in it much to erase whatever unpleasant recollections he retained from his public service. Four years before his elder daughter, Martha, had become the wife of Thomas Mann Randolph, a distant kinsman, and the young couple with their two children now came to live at Monticello. Mrs. Randolph was a highly accomplished woman, attractive in manners and conversation, endowed with unusual good sense, and devoted to her father. His younger daughter, Maria, now in her seventeenth year, completed the circle. She had for three years lived with her father in Philadelphia. She closely resembled her mother in her beauty and frailness of health, and was distinguished among all of her acquaintances for the unselfishness of her character.

Jefferson's life was now of the quietest description. Though his habit of letter-writing was practically dropped (during the

*See Retirement, page 369.

year 1794 only nine letters are preserved as his correspondence), yet he wrote enough to acquaint us with his daily occupations. To his late colleague and successor in the State department, Edmund Randolph, he wrote the first letter of his retirement. In this he said: "I think it is Montaigne who has said that ignorance is the softest pillow on which a man can rest his head. I am sure it is true as to everything political, and shall endeavor to estrange myself to everything of that character. I indulge myself on one political topic only, that is, in declaring to my countrymen the shameless corruption of a portion of the representatives to the first and second Congresses and their implicit devotion to the Treasury." To Mr. Adams, the Vice-President, he wrote even more complacently: "The difference of my present and past situation is such as to leave me nothing to regret but that my retirement has been postponed four years too long. The principles on which I calculated the value of life are entirely in favor of my present course. I return to farming with an ardor which has got the better entirely of my love of study. Instead of writing ten or twelve letters a day, which I have been in the habit of doing as a thing of course, I put off answering my letters now, farmerlike, till a rainy day, and then find them sometimes postponed by other necessary occupations."

To Tenche Coxe, an old friend, he wrote in a vein which later furnished his opponents with a theme for much ridicule:

"I am still warm whenever I think of those scoundrels [members of Congress who had profited by Hamilton's schemes], though I do it as seldom as I can, preferring infinitely to contemplate the tranquil growth of my lucern and my potatoes. I have so completely withdrawn myself from these spectacles of usurpation and misrule that I do not take a single newspaper, nor read one a month; and I feel myself infinitely happier for it."

According to his farm book, his estate comprised a total of 10,647 acres, but the greatest area under cultivation at any one time never reached two thousand acres. His slaves numbered one hundred and fifty-four. His domestic animals at the beginning of 1794 were thirty-four horses, five mules, two hun-

dred and forty-nine cattle, three hundred and ninety hogs, and three sheep. A letter to the President shows the condition of his property: "I find, on a more minute examination of my lands than the short visits heretofore made to them permitted, that a ten years' abandonment of them to the ravages of overseers has brought on them a degree of degradation far beyond what I had expected. As this obliges me to adopt a milder course of cropping, so I find that they have enabled me to do it by having opened a great deal of land during my absence. I have, therefore, determined on a division of my farms into six fields, to be put in this rotation: first year, wheat; second, corn, potatoes, peas; third, rye or wheat, according to circumstances; fourth and fifth, clover when the field will bring it; and buckwheat dressings when they will not; sixth, folding and buckwheat dressings. But it will take me from three to six years to get this plan under way. I am not yet satisfied that my acquisition of overseers has been a happy one, or that much will be done this year towards rescuing my plantations from their wretched condition. Time, patience and perseverance must be the remedy; and the maxim of your letter, 'Slow and sure,' is not less a good one in agriculture than in politics."

Success attended Jefferson's efforts to reduce to system the affairs of his estate. A picture of the prosperity of Monticello and a pleasing sketch of its owner was drawn by Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, who visited Jefferson in 1796: "At present he is employed with activity and perseverance in the management of his farms and buildings; and he orders, directs, and pursues in the minutest detail every branch of business relative to them. I found him in the midst of harvest, from which the scorching heat of the sun does not prevent his attendance. His negroes are nourished, clothed, and treated as well as white servants could be. As he did not expect any assistance from the two small neighboring towns, every article is made on his farm. His negroes are cabinet-makers, carpenters, masons, bricklayers, smiths, etc. The children he employs in a nail factory, which yields already a considerable profit. The young and old negresses spin for the clothing of the rest. He animates them

by rewards and distinctions. In fine, his superior mind directs the management of his domestic concerns with the same ability, activity, and regularity which he evinced in the conduct of public affairs, and which he is calculated to display in any situation of life. In the superintendence of his household, he is assisted by his two daughters, Mrs. Randolph and Miss Maria, who are handsome, modest and amiable women."

It was in the summer of 1796 that Jefferson reduced to definite form his speculations on the subject of mould-boards of least resistance. He had been at work upon this problem for years, and it was with great pride that he finally solved it and put his ideal plows in operation in his own fields. In 1798, at the official request of the English Board of Agriculture, he forwarded to them a model and description of his plow; and, a year or so later, he also sent one to the Agricultural Society of the Seine. Indeed, it was generally understood in France that Jefferson was the discoverer of a formula for constructing, on mathematical principles, a mould-board of least resistance for plows.

Although immersed in subjects of scientific agriculture, Jefferson's mind had never really forsaken its old channels. His letters of 1795 and 1796 constantly revert to political topics. Washington's address to Congress in November, 1794, attracted his keenest interest. This concerned exclusively the measures which had been taken by the Executive to put down the revolts in western Pennsylvania against the Excise Law. Since the passage of the law in March, 1791, there had been throughout this section constant protests and popular disturbances. In the summer of 1794 these troubles culminated in a meeting of delegates at Pittsburg, at which a system of correspondence between the malcontents was established. Armed men continued to interrupt Federal officers in the discharge of their duties, and either drove them away or compelled them to pledge themselves not to attempt to serve processes. All these measures had as their avowed purpose the repeal of the law. Before resorting to force the President issued a proclamation of warning to the law-breakers. Randolph, Jefferson's

successor as Secretary of State, and Gov. Mifflin, the Republican Governor of Pennsylvania, advised that certain commissioners already appointed should proceed to the scene of disturbance and offer a full pardon for past offenses on condition of future obedience to the laws; and they maintained that this would be more effectual if there was no threat of calling out troops. Hamilton, however, the father of the obnoxious law, was for more stringent measures. He urged Washington to call for troops at once and send them against the insurgents if they refused obedience. This plan prevailed, and the President made requisition in due form upon the Governors of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia for 15,000 militia. General Henry Lee, of Virginia, was in command; but Hamilton's request that he might accompany the expedition had been granted, and he was virtually its head. The troops crossed the Alleghanies late in October, but when they arrived in the disaffected district no resistance of any kind was offered. Several persons were arrested, but were subsequently released by the civil authorities.

Jefferson at the outset had been bitterly opposed to the passage of the Excise Law; and besides his disapproval of the spirit in which its execution was now enforced, his sentiments toward the men at the head of the expedition were not such as to reconcile him to it. He could no longer keep silent when he saw in the President's address a vigorous denunciation of the Democratic Corresponding Societies which in some States had been established in imitation of the French societies of that name. The President held these in a large measure responsible for the outbreak. Jefferson wrote to Madison his first censure of the President: "The denunciation of the democratic societies is one of the extraordinary acts of boldness of which we have seen so many from the faction of Monocrats. It is wonderful indeed that the President should have permitted himself to be the organ of such an attack on the freedom of discussion, the freedom of writing, printing and publishing. I expected to have seen some justification of arming one part of the society against another; * * * but the part of the speech which was

to be taken as a justification of the armament reminded me of Parson Sanders's demonstration why minus into minus makes plus. After a parcel of shreds of stuff from Æsop's Fables and Tom Thumb, he jumps at once into his *ergo*, minus multiplied by minus makes plus. Just so the fifteen thousand men enter after the fables in the speech."

Hardly had the excitement of the country over the excise trouble subsided, when a fresh cause of dissension arose in the treaty* arranged with England by John Jay. The advocates of this treaty did not claim perfection for it. Jay himself was dissatisfied with some of its terms; Hamilton was for "valuable alterations;" and the President, according to Judge Marshall's statement, had several objections to it. The Federalist party in the main supported it as the best treaty that could be secured in the circumstances. The Republican party, on the contrary, everywhere denounced it in unmeasured terms as a shameless surrender to England of every point at issue between the two countries. In this they were joined by many who had hitherto been uniformly well affected toward the administration. Immense mass meetings were held in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, and in many of the rural sections to protest against the final ratification of the treaty.

Jefferson's first expression of an opinion on the treaty shows surprisingly little sympathy with this general dissatisfaction. He wrote Mann Page on August 30th, 1795: "Our part of the country is in considerable fermentation on what they suspect to be a recent roguery. They say that while all hands were below deck mending sails, splicing ropes, and every one at his own business, and the captain in his cabin attending to his log-book and chart, a rogue of a pilot has run them into an enemy's port. But metaphor apart, there is much dissatisfaction with Mr. Jay and his treaty. For my part, I consider myself now but as a passenger, leaving the world and its government to those who are likely to live longer in it." When, however, Hamilton came forward over the signature, first of *Curtius,* and

*See Jay's Treaty, page 269.

then of *Camillus,* as the special champion of the treaty, Jefferson forgot his slender hold upon the world and showed a very robust desire to have Hamilton refuted. Three weeks after the letter to Page he wrote to Madison: "A solid reply might completely demolish what was too feebly attacked and has gathered strength from the weakness of the attack. The merchants were certainly (except those of them who are English) as open-mouthed at first against the treaty as any. But the general expression of indignation has alarmed them for the strength of the Government. They have feared the shock would be too great, and chosen to tack about and support both Treaty and Government rather than risk the Government. Thus it is that Hamilton, Jay, etc., in the boldest act they ever ventured on to undermine the Government, have the address to screen themselves, and direct the hue and cry against those who wish to drag them into light. A bolder party stroke was never struck. For it certainly is an attempt of a party who find they have lost their majority in one branch of the Legislature, to make a law by the aid of the other branch and of the Executive, under color of a treaty which shall bind up the hands of the adverse branch from ever restraining the commerce of their patron nation. There appears a pause at present in the public sentiment which may be followed by a revolution. * * * For God's sake take up your pen and give a fundamental reply to *Curtius* and *Camillus.*"

Despite the Republican opposition, the treaty was ratified. This evoked a storm of criticism, the bitterness of which has rarely been equalled in our history. Jefferson joined in this criticism and did not spare Washington himself. He even assailed the treaty-making power of the Executive. "The objects on which the President and Senate may exclusively act by treaty are much reduced," he wrote, "but the field on which they may act with the sanction of the Legislature is large enough. And I see no harm in rendering their sanction necessary and not much harm in annihilating the whole treaty-making power, except as to making peace." Touching the President's refusal to lay before the House the documents relating to the

treaty, he wrote to Madison: "The whole mass of your constituents are looking to you as their last hope to save them from the effects of the avarice and corruption of the first agent [Jay], the revolutionary machinations of others, and the incomprehensible acquiescence of the only honest man who has assented to it. I wish that his honesty and his political errors may not furnish a second occasion to exclaim: 'Curse on his virtues, they have undone his country.'"

Jay's treaty and the insurrection against the Excise Law drew Jefferson into the current of active politics. The Presidential election of 1796 found him the candidate of his party. If we may trust his own protestations, he became a candidate much against his will. To Madison's urgent appeal that he assume the leadership of his party he replied (April, 1795): "There is not another person (beside yourself) in the United States, who being placed at the helm of affairs, my mind would be so completely at rest for the future of our political bark. * * * As to myself, the subject had been thoroughly weighed and decided on, and my retirement from office had been meant from all office, high and low, without exception. I can say, too, with truth, that the subject had not been presented to my mind by any vanity of my own. * * * But the idea being once presented to me, my own quiet required that I should face and examine it. I did so thoroughly, and had no difficulty to see that every reason which had determined me to retire from the office I then held operated more strongly against that which was insinuated from a hostile quarter to be my object. * * * Special considerations which have supervened on my retirement still more insuperably bar the door to it. My health is entirely broken down within the last eight months; my age requires that I shall place my affairs in a clear state; these are sound if taken care of, but capable of considerable dangers if longer neglected; and above all things, the delights I feel in the society of my family and in the agricultural pursuits in which I am so eagerly engaged. The little spice of ambition which I had in my younger days has long since evaporated, and I set still less store by a posthumous than present name. In stating to you the

heads of reasons which have produced my determination, I do not mean an opening for future discussion, or that I may be reasoned out of it. The question is forever closed with me; my sole object is to avail myself of the first opening ever given me from a friendly quarter (and I could not with decency do it before) of preventing any division or loss of votes which might be fatal to the Republican interests."

There is no good reason to doubt that Jefferson was sincere when he made these assertions; but he had mistaken a purely temporary condition of body and mind for a lasting one. Time had restored his health and brought events of national and international importance in whose settlement he could but feel an absorbing interest. True, he was not now aggressively eager for the nomination; but it was only natural that he should not be indifferent to the spontaneous and unanimous wish of his party. It was not definitely known until Washington's Farewell Address appeared, in September, that he would retire, but his retirement was anticipated, and by midsummer Jefferson was recognized as the Republican candidate. The contest was between him and Adams, the Federalist candidate. The campaign was strangely quiet. Jefferson wrote but one political letter, and was not outside of his county during the three months preceding the election.

It was late in December when Jefferson learned the result of the contest. On January 1st, 1797, he wrote Madison: "The event of the election has never been a matter of doubt in my mind. * * * Indeed, the vote comes much nearer an equality than I had expected. I know the difficulty of obtaining belief in one's declarations of a disinclination to honors, and that it is greatest to those who still remain in the world. But no arguments were wanting to reconcile me to a relinquishment of the first office or acquiescence under the second. As to the first, it was impossible that a more solid unwillingness settled on full calculation could have existed in any man's mind, short of the degree of absolute refusal. * * * As to the second, it is the only office in the world about which I am unable to decide in my own mind whether I had rather have it or not have

it. Pride does not enter into the estimate; for I think with the Romans that the general of to-day should be a soldier of to-morrow if necessary. I can particularly have no feelings which would revolt at a secondary position to Mr. Adams. I am his junior in life, was his junior in Congress, his junior in the diplomatic line, his junior lately in our civil Government." It seems almost inexplicable at first sight that Jefferson should thus view the success of a rival and an acknowledged Federalist; but the idea of a compromise with Adams, of which we shall see later the development, was already in his mind.

On February 8th, 1797, the votes for President and Vice-President were opened in the presence of the two Houses of Congress. Adams had received the entire votes of the New England States, New York, New Jersey, and Delaware, one from Pennsylvania, seven from Maryland, one from Virginia, and one from North Carolina—seventy-one in all. Jefferson had received the entire votes of South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, and Tennessee with fourteen from Pennsylvania, four from Maryland, twenty from Virginia and eleven from North Carolina—a total of sixty-eight. Adams was therefore declared President and Jefferson Vice-President.

JEFFERSON AS VICE-PRESIDENT.

In March, 1797, Jefferson arrived in Philadelphia in time to assume his duties as Vice-President. He had written Madison on January 22nd: "Though I am not aware of any necessity of going on to Philadelphia immediately, yet I have determined to do it as a mark of respect to the public, and to do away with the doubts which have spread that I will consider the second office as beneath my acceptance. The journey, indeed, for the month of February is a tremendous undertaking for one who has not been seven miles from home since my re-settlement."

Adams' inaugural speech was regarded by the extreme Federalists as "temporizing, and as having the air of a lure for the favor of his opponents at the expense of his sincerity." This opinion, divested of its harsh tone, was not without founda-

tion, for interviews had already taken place between Adams and Jefferson which looked toward a coalition of their forces. Jefferson was more than willing to meet him half way. He had, on March 2nd, called on the President-elect. The call was returned the next morning. Jefferson described the interview at length:

"Mr. Adams found me alone in my room, and shutting the door himself, said he was glad to find me alone, for that he wished a free conversation with me. He entered immediately on an explanation of the situation of our affairs with France and the danger of rupture with that nation, a rupture which would convulse the attachments of this country. * * * That he had, therefore, concluded to send a mission, which by its dignity should satisfy France, and by its selection from the three great divisions of the continent, should satisfy all parts of the United States; in short, that he had determined to join Gerry and Madison to Pinckney, and he wished me to consult Mr. Madison for him. * * * I consulted Mr. Madison, who declined as I expected."

But the attempt to harmonize was destined to be abortive, for Adams, before two days should elapse, was to prove himself not so far freed from party ties. Jefferson's "Anas" gives the sequel: "I think it was on Monday, the sixth of March, Mr. Adams and myself met at dinner at Gen. Washington's, and we happened in the evening to rise from the table and come away together. As soon as we got into the street, I told him the event of my negotiation with Mr. Madison. He immediately said that on consultation some objections to that nomination had been raised which he had not contemplated; and was going on with excuses, which evidently embarrassed him, when we came to Fifth street, where our road separated, his being down Market street, mine along Fifth, and we took leave; and he never after that said one word to me on the subject, or ever consulted me as to any measures of the Government." The usual extra session of the Senate for confirming appointments lasted a few days, and Jefferson returned to Monticello immediately.

The most urgent matter awaiting the new administration was that of our French relations. In 1794, Monroe had been sent by Washington as special envoy to France, and had been received by the National Convention with every demonstration of good will. He had secured the repeal of the decree which authorized the seizure and sale of provisions found on board United States vessels; and payment for seizures already made was promised. But Jay's mission to England, with the uncertainty as to its true purpose, had proved itself an insuperable obstacle to full unity with France. The French Government complained that the impending treaty was an infraction of the existing one of 1778 between America and France. The United States Government, after it had committed itself to the ratification of the treaty, recalled Monroe.

At this the French Government, whose executive power had, in 1795, been merged into a Directory of five members, took violent offense. They alleged that Monroe's recall was due solely to his friendly disposition toward their country, and they immediately entered upon extreme measures of retaliation. French cruisers were ordered to treat neutrals as those neutrals permitted the English to treat them; and, in October, 1796, an Arrêt was issued directing the seizure of British property and provisions found on board American vessels.

The relations between the United States and France were at this tension when Adams became President. In less than three weeks came news of still greater importance. The head of the Directory, in granting Monroe his letters of recall had used severe language in regard to the policy of the American Government toward England, and had refused letters of hospitality to Pinckney, who had been sent as Monroe's successor. Adams immediately called an extra session of Congress to meet on May 15th, and opened it with a speech of warlike tone. The answers of the two Houses were of a similar character, and in this spirit they began legislation. With this special session of Congress began Jefferson's first service as the permanent presiding officer of a deliberative body. The duties were not entirely strange to him, for he had often been called to the chair

of the Virginia House of Burgesses and of the Continental Congress. In spite of this experience, however, he was fully aware of his lack of acquaintance with parliamentary procedure. He applied to his old preceptor, Mr. Wythe, for such parliamentary rules as he had committed to paper, but Mr. Wythe had none, and he was obliged to depend upon a commonplace-book on the proceedings of deliberative bodies, compiled while he was a student and practitioner of law. This, perfected by his experience in the Senate, grew into "Jefferson's Manual of Parliamentary Law."

The President's speech at the opening of Congress met Jefferson's unequivocal condemnation. He became convinced that Adams was bent on forcing the country into a war with France, and from this time forth his whole attention was centered in opposing the policy of the Government. His opposition, of course, acquired preponderating importance from his leadership of his party, and from his official station as Vice-President. The party had got its bearings by this time, and had developed a spirit which brought with it the almost inevitable estrangement of friends. This Jefferson deprecated most honestly. He wrote to E. Rutledge, June, 1797: "The passions are too high at present to be cooled in a day. You and I have formerly seen warm debates and high political passions. But gentlemen of different politics would then speak to each other, and separate the business of the Senate from that of society. It is not so now. Men who have been intimate all their lives cross the street to avoid meeting and turn their heads another way, lest they should be obliged to touch their hats. This may do for young men with whom passion is enjoyment. But it is afflicting to peaceable minds. Tranquillity is the old man's milk. I go to enjoy it in a few days, and to exchange the roar and tumult of bulls and bears for the prattle of my grandchildren and senile rest."

When Congress reassembled in November, he was not present at the opening. He was never present when the President's speeches were delivered to Congress. He did not care to lend by his presence approval to the formal and fulsome replies

of the Federalist Senate. Congress had practically no business before it. Nothing had been heard from the envoys to France, though several months had elapsed since Marshall and Gerry had been sent to join Pinckney. Again and again Jefferson wrote of the failure to hear from them. In spite of the fact that he invariably put the most favorable interpretation upon their silence, the tone of his correspondence betrays an anxiety which he could not conceal. He regarded this period of suspense as most critical for the future policy and even for the existence of his party; and this was the belief of most of the Republican members of Congress.

Early in March, the long-expected dispatches reached the President, and on the 5th he laid one of these before Congress, with the announcement that others in cipher were in his possession. On the 19th he communicated enough of these to reveal their tenor and to arouse the passions of the war party. At the same time he proposed war preparations of an offensive as well as defensive character. The Senate requested the cipher dispatches in full, and the President willingly complied. Their contents were of a most inflammatory character. The envoys had not secured a single interview with Talleyrand, the Directory's Minister for foreign affairs. This wily statesman had continued to excuse himself on one plea or another, and had sent his special agents, Hottingeur, Bellamy, and Hauteval, to meet the American legation in his stead. The dispatches omitted the names of Talleyrand's agents and substituted the letters X. Y. Z.—a circumstance that gave the transaction the name of "the X. Y. Z. affair." These go-betweens repeatedly suggested to the envoys to propose to Talleyrand the loan of a large sum of money by the United States, and the envoys made the mistake of listening to the suggestions. But they went no further. They steadily refused to make any answer until French captures of American vessels should cease. The caution of both sides prevented any agreement from being reached, and after months of futile negotiations the American envoys finally did what they should have done when the first ambiguous overture was made to them. They broke off all negotiations, and re-

ported to the President their failure to reach an agreement with the French Government.

When the dispatches were made public in the United States, the fiercest indignation against France spread throughout the country. The Republican party, as the one associated with France by tradition and tenet, was almost instantly reduced to a more feeble minority than ever before. In the House of Representatives the change of sentiment was especially remarkable. The few Republicans who stood firm could do nothing more than urge that no action should be taken until the truth could be more clearly known. This is the tone, also, of Jefferson's letters during the intensity of the excitement. His disgust was as strong as that which he felt during the Genet affair. He wrote as a man who felt his cause discredited; nor can we entirely acquit him of a species of intellectual juggling, when he maintained that not the conduct of Talleyrand, but Adams' address of May, 1797, was the chief obstacle to reconciliation and friendship between the nations.

Whatever may have been the source of the hostility of France, it is certain that the indignation of the United States was rapidly fanned by the measures which the administration pressed through Congress after the X. Y. Z. revelations. Bills for increasing the fleet and army of the country, for fortifying the harbors, for suspending all commercial intercourse with France, and for giving to the President powers absolutely discretionary in all matters of war, now rapidly passed through Congress.

In July, 1798, Washington was nominated to be Lieutenant-General of all armies which might be raised, and he accepted on the understanding that he should control the selection of all inferior general officers. Hamilton was made Inspector-General, and with Pinckney and Knox was raised to the rank of Major-General. The policy pursued in the appointment of officers for the army excited in the Republican party the deepest suspicion. Washington had accepted the command with the express avowal that it was for an exigency, and that, when that should pass over, he would resign. In that event the senior in command, and the man whom the Federalist Senate would

eagerly appoint as Washington's successor, was Hamilton. Not only would the army thus be commanded by the chief opponent of the Republicans, but all the higher commissions would be given to men who were either Federalists or of decided Federalist leaning. Even for the lower commissions Washington advocated, as is seen in a confidential letter to General Davie, this principle of selection. He was for giving the first preference to competent officers of the old army, but added: "If such are not to be found, next, to young gentlemen of good families, liberal education, and high sense of honor; and thirdly, in neither case to any who are known enemies to their own government; for they will as certainly attempt to create disturbances in the military as they have done in the civil administration of their country."

In civil affairs, the administration was no less active. On June 21st, the President sent a special message to Congress announcing that he had put an end to all negotiations with France by the recall of Gerry, the last remaining envoy in that country. Congress now conferred upon the President unprecedented powers. The war measures put under his direction necessarily involved the strictest watchfulness over the large body of foreigners resident in America. The term of residence necessary to naturalization was extended to fourteen years, and it was further required that the applicant for naturalization papers should prove that he had declared his intention of becoming a citizen five years before the application. All aliens were required to report themselves and be registered by the clerks in the district courts. But the extreme of the Federalist position was reached when the "Alien act" was passed (June 25th, 1798). This famous law authorized the President to order out of the country all such aliens as he might judge to be dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States; and if such alien was afterwards found in the country, he could be imprisoned for three years.

Something was yet needed, however, to reach the class whom the Federalists specially feared—the native-born Republicans who were in opposition to the war fever and to the measures of

the administration. The Sedition act quickly followed the Alien act.* It provided heavy fines and imprisonment for any person who should conspire to oppose the United States Government or the laws thereof, or should print or publish any "false, scandalous or malicious writings against the Government, Congress or the President, intended to bring disrepute or hatred upon, or stir up sedition against them." The dominant party did not dare to aggravate the severity of these provisions by conferring upon the President the scope and power which they had given him in the Alien law. It was necessary that, in sedition cases, the defendants should be convicted of the charge before a court of the United States. The Federal courts thus came immediately into prominence, for in the opinion of the Republicans, they were to be the sure and active instruments of partisan persecution.

Jefferson had left for home before the passage of the Sedition law in its original form. He had throughout the session closely followed the trend of events, and he left Philadelphia impressed with what he regarded as the intemperate language and conduct of the President. He saw, however, that the country had come to look more rationally upon the differences with France. To John Taylor he wrote in a most hopeful strain: "There is a most respectable part of our State who have been enveloped in the X. Y. Z. delusion, and who destroy our unanimity for the present moment. This disease of the imagination will pass over, because the patients are essentially Republican. Indeed, the doctor is now on his way to cure it in the guise of a tax-gatherer. But give time for the medicine to work, and for the repetition of stronger doses which must be administered. * * * Nothing but excessive taxation can get us along; and this will carry reason and reflection to every man's door, and particularly in the hour of election."

During this summer the leaders of the opposition had looked around for some means of formal and effectual resistance to the policy of the administration, "finding themselves," to use their

*See Alien and Sedition Laws, page 137. Also Kentucky Resolutions, page 282.

expression, "of no use in Congress, browbeaten as they were by the bold and overwhelming majority, they had concluded to retire from that field and take a stand in the State Legislatures against their opponents' enterprises on the Constitution." In this they counted on the co-operation of Virginia and Kentucky, as "the sympathy between these two States was more cordial and more intimately confidential than between any other two States of Republican policy." Toward the close of October, 1798, W. C. Nicholas, of Virginia, and John C. Breckenridge, of Kentucky, visited Monticello and urged Jefferson to draw up resolutions of the desired tenor for presentation to the Legislature of Kentucky. They assured him that it should not be known from what quarter the resolutions came, and Jefferson consented to draft them. In the original draft they were nine in number.* They declared that the Union was not based on the principle of unlimited submission to the general government; that the Constitution was a compact to which each State was a party as over against its fellow States; and that in all cases not specified in the compact, each party had a right to judge for itself as well of infraction as of the mode and measure of redress. The Alien and Sedition Acts were denounced as unconstitutional, and other States were invited to join in declaring them void. These resolutions,† in almost the same form in which they went from Jefferson's hand, passed the Kentucky Legislature almost unanimously. One, the ninth, authorizing the committee to establish a system of correspondence on the subject with other States, was omitted; another (the eighth), advocating a nullification as the rightful remedy for all assumptions of power by the national Government, was modified. Instead of declaring the acts null and void, the Legislature merely instructed the representatives of Kentucky in Congress "to use their best endeavors to procure at the next

*The authorship of the resolutions was not generally known until 1821, when Jefferson disclosed the fact to a son of Breckenridge, who had written to him on the subject.

†See text, page 282.

session of Congress a repeal of the aforesaid unconstitutional and obnoxious acts."

The changes in the resolutions were made in the spirit of Jefferson's ideas after a month of reflection. In November, 1798, he enclosed to Madison the resolutions as he had drawn them, and wrote: "I think we should distinctly affirm all the important principles they contain, so as to hold the ground in future and leave the matter in such a train as that we may not be committed absolutely to push the matter to extremities and yet may be free to push as far as events will render prudent." This note had reference to the approaching action of the Virginia Legislature upon the same matter. The resolutions offered in this body by Jefferson's friend, John Taylor of Carolina, were more cautiously worded. Madison was their author.

The effect of these two sets of resolutions upon the country at large must have been a source of great disappointment to their authors and promoters. Most of the States took no official notice of them. Those which did notice them did not commit themselves to an approval. But Jefferson was for keeping them to the front. In August, 1799, he wrote to Wilson C. Nicholas: "I am deeply impressed with the importance of Virginia and Kentucky pursuing the same track at the ensuing session of their legislatures. Your going thither furnishes a valuable opportunity of effecting it, and as Mr. Madison will be at our Assembly, as well as yourself, I thought it important to procure a meeting between you." And again, in September, he wrote to the same person: "I thought something essentially necessary to be said in order to avoid the influence of acquiescence; that a resolution or declaration should be passed, answering the reasonings of such of the States as have ventured into the field of reason and that of the committee of Congress; taking some notice, too, of those States who have either not answered at all, or answered without reasoning. * * * Expressing in affectionate and conciliatory language our warm attachment to union with our sister States and to the instrument and principles by which we are

united; * * * that not at all disposed to make every measure of error or of wrong a cause of scission, we are willing to look with indulgence or to wait with patience till those passions and delusions shall have passed over, which the Federal Government have artfully excited to cover its own abuses and conceal its designs, fully confident that the good sense of the American people and their attachment to those very rights which we are now vindicating, will, before it shall be too late, rally with us round the true principles of our Federal compact."

The Kentucky resolutions were for a long time the completest documentary expression of the policy of the party which claimed allegiance to Jefferson's teachings. Their nature has been the subject of an immense amount of discussion; Madison's idea, as embodied in the Virginia resolutions, was that the Federal Government should be held in check by an agreement or convention of the States, or a majority of them; Jefferson left undesignated the methods by which the States should hold the General Government in check. The "Kentucky Resolutions" may certainly, without violence to the wording, be regarded as teaching the right of the State to impose restraint upon a Federal law; but their failure to specify methods of procedure links them closely with Madison's more cautious views.*

Throughout this stormy period of our history Jefferson's tension of mind and body were extraordinary. His voluminous correspondence was almost entirely political. He was never weary of urging upon his correspondents the ardent and systematic propagation of the Republican faith. Early in January, he pressed Edmund Pendleton to prepare a supplement to his "Patriarchical Address," and to have it circulated throughout

* Their ambiguity was forcibly illustrated in after years. Calhoun read in them authority for his position that any State which felt aggrieved might, of and by itself alone, impose an arbitrary restraint upon any Federal law, the restraint to take the form of a suspension or "nullification" of the law by the State within its jurisdiction. President Jackson, however, claiming to represent no less than Calhoun the teachings of Jefferson, found in the resolutions no sanction for such action of the State, and did not hesitate to take the most resolute steps against nullification.

the country by members of Congress. Nowhere else does Jefferson arraign with more force the policy of his opponents. "If the understanding of the people could be rallied to the truth of the subject (the X. Y. Z. affair) by exposing the dupery practiced on them, there are so many other things about to bear on them favorably for the resurrection of their Republican spirit, that a reduction of the administration to constitutional principles cannot fail to be the effect. These are the Alien and Sedition Laws; the vexations of the Stamp Act; the disgusting particularities of the direct tax; the additional army without an enemy, and recruiting officers lounging at every court-house to decoy the laborer from his plow; a navy of fifty ships; five millions to be raised to build it on the usurious interest of eight per cent; the perseverance in war on our part when the French Government shows such an anxious desire to keep at peace with us; taxes of ten millions now paid by four millions of people, and yet a necessity in a year or two of raising five millions more for annual expenses."

A month later he wrote to Madison upon the most practical methods of influencing the political opinion of the country. "A piece published in Bache's paper on foreign influence has had the greatest currency and effect. * * * It is such things as these the public want. They say so from all quarters, and that they wish to hear reason instead of disgusting blackguardism. The public sentiment being on the careen and many heavy circumstances about to fall into the Republican scale, we are sensible that this summer is the season for systematic energies and sacrifices. The engine is the press. Every man must lay his purse and his pen under contribution. As to the former, it is possible I may be obliged to assume something for you. As to the latter, let me pray and beseech you to set apart a certain portion of every post-day to write what may be proper for the public."

After the adjournment of Congress, the relations between President Adams and his Cabinet became more strained than ever. His suspension of war preparations was recognized as a virtual guarantee of peace, and he was now for sending definite

instructions to the Envoys. Though these instructions were reduced to writing early in March, his departure from Washington relieved the Cabinet of the spur of his presence, and the Secretary of State, on one pretext and another, delayed until the middle of September to send them to him for final revision. Even then they were accompanied by an appeal to suspend the mission. Mr. Adams now saw, what he had for months suspected, that his Cabinet was eager to break off all that had been achieved toward the establishment of peace. Thenceforward the firmness of his course was in striking contrast to the vacillating policy previously pursued. He forced the Cabinet to approve the instructions again drawn up, and, early in October, without consulting them, requested the Envoys to sail at as early a date as possible. From this action may be dated the President's break from the leaders of his party—a rupture followed by the overthrow of the Federalists and the establishment of the Jeffersonians in power.

To dissensions in the Federalist party was added the burden of unpopular legislation. Jefferson and Madison had turned the popular mind to the dangers to individual liberty proceeding from the Federalist legislation during Adams' term of office. Although the Alien and Sedition Laws were by express provision to expire in 1800 and 1801 respectively, and although in reality they had been enforced in a very small number of cases, nevertheless the jealousy of the individual for his liberty, in the Federalist as well as in the Republican States, had been aroused, and the Republican party was not slow to turn it to advantage.

Thus conditions in general seemed to point to the success of the Republican party in the Presidential and Congressional campaign of 1800. In May, Jefferson had been unanimously nominated by the Congressional caucus for President, and Aaron Burr had been nominated for Vice-President. Jefferson was from the beginning confident of his election. In March he wrote to Madison: "As the conveyance is confidential, I can say something on a subject which to those who do not know my real disposition respecting it might seem indelicate. The Federalists begin to be very seriously alarmed about their elec-

tions next fall. Their speeches in private as well as their public and private demeanor to me indicate it strongly."

Jefferson spent the entire summer of 1800 in close retirement. Only twice was he absent from home farther than Charlottesville, once to a remote point in Albemarle County, and once on a short visit to his Bedford estate. He was particularly busy in his farming operations, in his nail factory, and in burning bricks to complete the proposed addition to his house. Indefatigable biographers have found in his account-book an increased expenditure during the campaign in the matter of newspapers only. His correspondence consisted of but three letters from May until November. One of these is of interest as showing the calumny to which he was subjected, and his method of treating it. It had been stated by a divine of Connecticut in the course of a sermon that the "candidate of the Republican party had obtained his property by fraud and robbery; that in one instance he had defrauded and robbed a widow and fatherless children of an estate of which he was executor, of ten thousand pounds sterling, by keeping the property and paying them in money at the nominal rate when it was worth no more than forty for one; and that all this could be proved." This was made a basis of a letter of inquiry addressed to Jefferson directly, by a native of Connecticut, and couched in the most respectful terms.

Contrary to his invariable rule in such matters, Jefferson put himself to the pains to set forth freely the nature of the only executorship he had ever held, that to his sister's property. He thus prefaced his statement of the circumstances in question: "From the moment that a portion of my fellow-citizens look toward me with a view to one of their highest offices, the flood-gates of calumny have been opened upon me; not where I am personally known, where their slanders would be instantly judged and suppressed from a general sense of their falsehood; but in the remote parts of the Union, where the means of detection are not at hand, and the trouble of an inquiry is greater than would suit the inhabitants to undertake. * * * I leave them, therefore, to the reproof of their own consciences.

If these do not condemn them, there will yet come a day when the false witness will meet a judge who has not slept over his slanders." In conclusion he expressed a sentiment in which many public men have had occasion to share. "These, sir, are facts well known to every person in this quarter, which I have committed to paper for your own satisfaction and that of those to whom you may choose to mention them. I only pray that my letter may not go out of your hands, lest it should get into the newspapers, a bear-garden scene into which I have made it a point to enter on no provocation."

Attacks upon him as "an atheist" and "French infidel" were also not wanting; and in September, 1800, a pamphlet was published in New York City by an intimate friend of General Hamilton, entitled "The Voice of Warning to Christians on the Ensuing Election." It was devoted to showing that, in various particulars, Jefferson had, in his "Notes on Virginia," directly attacked the authenticity of the Scriptures; and it retailed many stories of Jefferson's lack of "decent respect for the faith and worship of Christians." Jefferson took no notice of these, save to allude to them in a letter to Dr. Rush. He wrote that the late attack of the Federalists on the freedom of the press "had given to the clergy a very favorite hope of obtaining an establishment of a particular form of Christianity throughout the United States." He added: "The returning good sense of our country threatens abortion to their hopes, and they believe that any portion of power confided to me will be exerted in opposition to their schemes. And they believe rightly, for I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man. But this is all they have to fear from me; and enough, too, in their opinion. And this is the cause of their printing lying pamphlets against me, forging conversations for me."

The election occurred early in November, but it was not known until a month later that the Republican party had elected its candidates for President and Vice-President, and would have a majority in the House of Representatives. With this success, however, had come the apprehension within the

party that trouble would arise from the fact that Jefferson and Burr had the same number of votes in the Electoral College. Jefferson clearly showed this in a letter of December 15th to Colonel Burr. In this he sketched the rumored policy of the Federalist party, which would consist of preventing the election of a President by the House of Representatives as well as by the Electoral College. He did not, at the time, know Burr's true character; but the skilful wording of the letter, and its evident purpose to conciliate Burr, show that he was apprehensive lest ambition should prevail with him over party fidelity. What passed between the two can never be definitely determined, for neither committed anything to writing during this period; but one thing is clear, Burr was already deep in negotiation with the Federalists; Jefferson knew that he had been approached by them, and yet he was so thoroughly deceived as to Burr's position, that he could write to his daughter, Mrs. Eppes, on January 4th, 1801 : "The election is understood to stand 73, 73, 65, 64. The Federalists were confident at first they could debauch Colonel B. from his good faith by offering him their vote to be President, and have seriously proposed it to him. His conduct has been honorable and decisive and greatly embarrasses them." It was impossible that Jefferson could much longer remain so completely in the dark, but even as late as February 1st, he was still trying to maintain unbroken relations with Burr. He wrote to him on that date the last letter that was ever to pass between them. In it he denounced as a forgery a letter in his handwriting to Judge Breckenridge, in which Burr's character was bitterly attacked. But the day was past for the harmony which Jefferson hoped the letter might strengthen. The Federalist caucus of the House of Representatives had, by a decided majority, pledged the support of the party to Burr. This step had been taken despite Hamilton's vehement opposition. To his eternal honor Jefferson's great rival refused to lend his countenance to a scheme to defeat the will of the people, and bitterly as he hated and distrusted Jefferson, he believed him justly entitled to the office of President.

On February 11th the members of both Houses assembled in

the Senate Chamber and the electoral vote was opened and announced by Jefferson, presiding over the Senate. Jefferson and Burr had carried six States—New York, Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, and Kentucky, and had received 8 votes from Pennsylvania, 5 from Maryland, and 8 from North Carolina—a total of 73. Adams had carried the seven States of New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Delaware, and had received 7 votes from Pennsylvania, 5 from Maryland, and 4 from North Carolina—a total of 65. The long apprehended tie between the Republican candidates had occurred, and the representatives returned to their own chamber and proceeded to ballot for President. The rules governing this had been previously adopted. The House was to ballot for President without interruption by other business; the States were to vote as a whole, or if there were a tie in the delegations of any State, its vote was to be marked as "divided;" and the votes of nine States, a majority, were necessary to an election.

The balloting continued, at intervals of an hour, through the night, and until the nineteenth ballot the result was invariably the same—eight States for Jefferson, six for Burr, and two equally divided. It was then seen that the struggle would be a long one, and, as John Randolph of Roanoke expressed it, "without adjourning, the House postponed (like able casuists) from day to day, the balloting." On the morning of February 17th, on the thirty-sixth ballot, a choice was reached. Jefferson secured the votes of ten States, and Burr four. Two States, Delaware and South Carolina, deposited blank ballots. Jefferson was declared duly elected President, and the tension of the public mind was relaxed.

It is not generally appreciated how thoroughly aroused Jefferson was during the struggle. He felt that he had been chosen President by the majority of the votes of the country, and that unscrupulous party manipulators were availing themselves of the clumsiness and inadequacy of the law, to defraud him of his rights. Many Federalist representatives, in their unwillingness to support Burr, were eagerly seeking some grounds on which

they might give their vote to Jefferson; but he steadfastly refused to give them pledges as to his future policies, or to listen to their overtures. Hamilton had thus written to Wolcott: "There is no doubt that upon every virtuous and prudent calculation, Jefferson is to be preferred. He is by far not so dangerous a man; and he has pretensions to character. As to Burr, there is nothing in his favor. * * * He is truly the Catiline of America. * * * Better will it be to obtain from Jefferson assurances on some cardinal points.

1st. The preservation of the actual fiscal system.

2d. Adherence to the neutral plan.

3d. The preservation and gradual increase of the navy.

4th. The continuance of our friends in the offices they fill, except in the great departments, in which he ought to be left free."

Among the many letters written by Jefferson during the ten days of the contest, the one to Monroe, February 15th, is the most vigorous expression of his attitude: "If they could have been permitted to pass a law for putting the government into the hands of an officer, they would certainly have prevented an election. But we thought it best to declare openly and firmly, one and all, that the day such an act passed, the Middle States would arm, and that no such usurpation, even for a single day, should be submitted to. This first shook them, and they were completely alarmed at the resource for which we declared, to wit, a convention to reorganize the government and to amend it. The very word convention gives them the horrors, as in the present democratical spirit of America, they fear they should lose some of the favorite morsels of the Constitution. Many attempts have been made to obtain terms and promises from me. I have declared to them, unequivocally, that I would not receive the government on capitulation, that I would not go into it with my hands tied."

On February 28th Jefferson, with a brief address of farewell, retired from the chair of the Senate. Though the four years during which he had presided over that body had been marked by a partisan heat and bitterness hitherto unknown in America,

his conduct and rulings had not once been made the subject of complaint. The answer to his address was drawn up by his enemies. Despite that fact, and the caution with which it is worded, it is truly complimentary. It may most fittingly close this period of his career. "Sir:—While we congratulate you on those expressions of the public will which called you to the first office in the United States, we cannot but lament the loss of that intelligence, attention, and impartiality with which you have presided over our deliberations. The Senate feel themselves much gratified by the sense you have been pleased to express of their support in the performance of your late duties. Be persuaded that it will never be withheld from a chief magistrate who, in the exercise of his office, shall be influenced by a due regard to the honor and interest of our country.

"In the confidence that your official conduct will be directed to these great objects, a confidence derived from past events, we repeat to you, sir, the assurance of our constitutional support in your future administration."

THE FIRST ADMINISTRATION.

It was a striking coincidence that Jefferson's induction into office, marking, as it did, the beginning of a new era in the government of the country, should be the first one to occur in the new Capital City. The removal of the offices of the Government from Philadelphia to Washington had taken place in June, 1800, and Congress had met there in December of that year. Though for twelve years the site for the permanent capital had been designated, it was still in a rude and primitive state. Of the residence intended for the President, Mrs. Adams, the first Lady of the White House, wrote in the autumn of 1800: "The house is made habitable, but there is not a single apartment finished. We have not the least fence, yard, or other convenience without, and the great unfinished audience-room I make a drying room of, to hang up the clothes in. The principal stairs are not up and will not be this winter." The state of the White House was much improved when Jefferson

entered it, but as late as May he wrote of the town: "This may be considered as a pleasant country residence with a number of neat little villages scattered around within a distance of a mile and a half and furnishing a plain and substantially good society. They have begun their buildings in about four or five different points, and at each of which there are buildings enough to be considered as a village. The whole population is about six thousand."

The primitive nature of the surroundings was not distasteful to the newly-elected President, and the ceremonies of his inauguration were strictly in keeping with them. A half royal dignity had characterized the inauguration of Washington and Adams. Jefferson would have none of this. The story, however, that "he rode on horseback to the Capitol without a single guard or servant in his train, dismounted without assistance, and hitched the bridle of his horse to the palisades," rests solely upon the assertion of an English traveler who thought thereby to amuse his own people. The facts were truly stated in a dispatch of Mr. Thornton, then in charge of the British legation, to Lord Grenville, Foreign Secretary in Pitt's administration: "He came from his own lodgings to the house where the Congress convenes and which goes by the name of the Capitol, on foot, in his ordinary dress, escorted by a body of militia artillery from the neighboring State, and accompanied by the Secretaries of the Navy and the Treasury and a number of his political friends in the House of Representatives."

The inaugural ceremonies were held in the Senate Chamber, in the presence of the national officials and a throng of spectators. The address* was a complete summary of his political faith. It was lengthy and highly rhetorical, but kindly and tolerant. It touched skilfully upon the recent heated contest, attempted to show why no spirit except that of unity and hope should fill the bosoms of victors and vanquished alike, and enumerated what its author deemed "the essential principles of our government." After the inaugural, Jefferson, by a strange

*See text, page 245.

irony, received the oath of office from Chief Justice Marshall, a man whose political principles he held in the deepest detestation. Adams, it was well known, had thrown away all courtesy toward his successor and had raised Marshall to his new dignity after Jefferson's election, with the unconcealed purpose of checking, in one department of government at least, the overwhelming tide of Jeffersonianism. Marshall had accepted the appointment with as little scruple as it was tendered, and thus was begun a conflict which was to survive the last trace of Federalism and outlive even that particular form of Jeffersonianism which Marshall was appointed to oppose.

The President selected as his Cabinet James Madison of Virginia, Secretary of State; Albert Gallatin of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the Treasury; Henry Dearborn of Massachusetts, Secretary of War; Levi Lincoln of Massachusetts, Attorney General; Robert Smith of Maryland, Secretary of the Navy. Gideon Granger of Connecticut was appointed Postmaster General late in the year. In the selection of these men Jefferson showed great skill and prudence. It was an able and responsible body. With the exception of Madison, they represented those States which were wavering in their allegiance to Federalism, and which he thought could be won to the Republican standard. Each was chosen on the ground of peculiar fitness. In the appointment of Gallatin, personal considerations reinforced Jefferson's appreciation of his ability. Gallatin had suffered much misrepresentation for his connection with the Whisky Rebellion. In Jefferson's opinion the Alien Act had been aimed at him as the most eminent citizen of foreign birth distasteful to the Federalists. His appointment was, therefore, in the nature of a reward for persecution.

During the first months of his administration Jefferson was kept busy answering congratulatory letters from individuals and associations in all parts of the country. It was a task to which he addressed himself with undisguised pleasure, for it afforded him an opportunity to show his thorough-going democracy. His answers were reproductions in little of his Inaugural Address. He was never weary of repeating his con-

fidence in the patriotism of the great body of Federalists. His election, to his mind, meant a new era in the government of the United States and even in that of the world. To his old Revolutionary friend, John Dickinson, he wrote: "A just and solid Republican government maintained here will be a standing monument and example for the aim and imitation of the people of other countries; and I join with you in the hope and belief that they will see from our example that a free government is of all others the most energetic; that the inquiry that has been excited among the mass of mankind by our Revolution and its consequence will ameliorate the condition of man over a great portion of the globe."

These letters are also full of a subject which necessarily arose with the incoming of the new party. It was the subject of removals from and appointments to office.* Jefferson's attitude on this question was, throughout, one of firmness and consistency. When his election by the House of Representatives hung in the balance, he had refused to bind himself to retain Federalist office-holders in their positions. Now that he had won, he as stoutly refused to yield to the importunities of those members of his own party who clamored for the dismissal of their opponents. In assuming this position, the tolerance with which he regarded the body of Federalists naturally played a large part. Nevertheless, he did not see his way to purchase their favor by undue concessions. As early as March 7th, he wrote to Monroe: "To give time for a perfect consideration seems prudent. I have firmly refused to follow the counsels of those who have desired the giving offices to some of their leaders in order to reconcile. I have given and will give only to Republicans under existing circumstances. * * * Some deprivations of office I know must be made. They must be as few as possible, done gradually, and bottomed on some malversation or inherent disqualification. Where we shall draw the line between retaining all and none is not yet settled, and will not be till we get our administration together; and perhaps

*See Offices, page 322. Also Nepotism, page 318; and Civil Service, page 156.

even then we shall proceed *a talons,* balancing our measures according to the impression we perceive them to make." He did not, however, regard it as a violation of this moderate course to remove arbitrarily such persons as had been appointed to office by his predecessor since the election of the preceding November. These appointments he regarded as made in open defiance of the popular will. Again and again he denounced the conduct of Adams in this respect. To Knox, his former colleague in Washington's Cabinet, he wrote: "In the class of removals I do not rank the new appointments which Mr. A. crowded in with whip and spur from the 12th of December, when the event of the election was known, and consequently that he was making appointments not for himself but his successor, until nine o'clock of the night at twelve o'clock of which he was to go out of office. This outrage on decency should not have its effect except in the life appointments which are irremovable; but as to the others I consider the nominations as nullities, and will not view the persons appointed as even candidates for their office, much less as possessing it by any title meriting respect. I mention these things that the grounds and the extent of the removals may be understood and may not disturb the tendency to union."

In reference to appointments to office he wrote to his old scientific friend Dr. Rush of Philadelphia: "I have no doubt the Federalists will concur in the fairness of the position that after they have been in the exclusive possession of all offices from the very first origin of party among us to the 3d of March at nine o'clock in the night, no Republican ever admitted and this doctrine newly avowed, it is now perfectly just that the Republicans should come in for the vacancies which may fall in until something like an equilibrium in office be restored."

The most notable instance of the application of his views was that of the collectorship of New Haven. Adams had made an appointment to the post the day after Jefferson's election. Jefferson calmly ignored this appointment and dated a new commission from the death of the former incumbent. His appointee

had been a most active Republican and was peculiarly odious to the commercial element of the city. A formal remonstrance was forwarded to Jefferson, and this, coupled with the importance of the office, moved him, for the only time in his career, to send back a reply. He was not content with a mere defense of his appointment; he went further and assumed the aggressive, concluding with the words: "I shall correct the procedure of Mr. Adams; but that done, return with joy to that state of things when the only question concerning a candidate shall be, Is he honest? Is he capable? Is he faithful to the Constitution?"

When Congress met in December the Republicans had for the first time a majority in both Houses. There proceedings were not, as under the former administrations, opened with a set speech from the President. Jefferson regarded this as the chief of the ceremonials which he wished to end; and he transmitted to each House a written message, explaining in a brief note to the President of the Senate his reasons for changing the custom. This was in harmony with a systematic plan to check the tendency of his predecessors to exalt the executive above the legislative department and above private citizens. His first message was concerned entirely with domestic affairs. The note which strikes most forcibly the reader of the present day is its advocacy of economy* along all lines of public expenditure. To this end Jefferson suggested a thorough revision of the civil service, the army, and the navy. Significant suggestions were made as to the action Congress might take on the judiciary system, and especially "that portion of it recently erected." A revisal of the harsh naturalization laws was recommended. Throughout the whole message it was evident that Jefferson wished to undo as far as possible the legislation of the preceding administration.

These recommendations were closely followed by Congress. The very first one of them was a sharp rebuke to the Federalists. By an almost strict party vote, newspaper reporters were ad-

*See Economy, page 193.

mitted unconditionally to the sessions of both Houses. This was intended to win to the Republican party the press which, except in New England, had been alienated from the Federalists by the Sedition Act. The Judiciary Act of the preceding session, by which the scope of the Federal courts had been extended and sixteen circuits had been established, was repealed, and a bill passed establishing six districts instead. The naturalization laws which had prevailed in Washington's time were restored. The internal taxes were abolished and measures were begun looking toward the gradual dismissal of the officials connected with them. The army was reduced to three thousand men and the appropriation for the navy was made very small. In short, the legislative and executive departments were as completely one as Republican taunts had represented them to be under Adams. Many of the members of both Houses were in close personal touch with Jefferson; and there was, as yet, no dissatisfaction with the autocratic power he exerted over his party.

Before Congress adjourned in May, intelligence had reached the United States which diverted the attention of the President from purely domestic affairs, and suggested to him a line of foreign policy different from that hitherto pursued. News came that Spain had ceded Louisiana and Florida back to France. Jefferson saw that his opportunity had come to set about securing control of the Mississippi River—a dream cherished from the time of his residence in France. Madison was at once directed to draw up for Livingston, the American Minister in Paris, instructions based upon a full statement of the economic and political results which must come from the retrocession of Louisiana.* His instructions covered the securing by the United States of just and permanent rights of navigation on the Mississippi and the right of deposit near its mouth. The acquirement of the island of New Orleans was urged. Jefferson himself added a letter, whose threatening tone differentiated it from the cautious one of Madison. Livingston was to press the

*See Louisiana, page 298.

French Government. He was to dwell upon the natural and unchangeable friendship which ought to prevail between the two countries; but he was, at the same time, to emphasize the fact that this friendship had been seriously imperiled by the acquisition by France of New Orleans—"the one single spot on the globe the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy." Spain, Jefferson continued, might have held it forever, unmolested by the United States; but France was too dangerous a neighbor, because too powerful and restless. Proceeding from this statement of facts, Jefferson did not scruple to avail himself of the precarious state of the foreign relations of France. "The day that France takes possession of New Orleans fixes the sentence which is to restrain her forever within her low-water mark. It seals the union of two nations who in conjunction can maintain exclusive possession of the ocean. From that moment we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation." He intimated, however, the possibility of a compromise by which France might retain the whole Louisiana Territory while ceding to the United States the island of New Orleans and the Floridas; but even this he feared would be but a "temporary palliation." He expected that the reduction of Santo Domingo, then in fierce revolt under Toussaint L'Ouverture against the rule of Bonaparte, would be no short work, and that Livingston would have "time to return again and again to the charge."

This letter moved Livingston to the utmost exertion. He had found all the prominent circles of France hostile to his country—the result of Talleyrand's spite—and, what more nearly concerned his task, he had found the colonization of the Louisiana Territory a favorite scheme of Bonaparte, for reasons both of profit and of sentiment. At first, therefore, he made but little progress in his negotiation. A second communication from Jefferson, in October, brought no definite instructions to aid him, but merely expressed extreme suspicion of France and enjoined upon the Minister the utmost caution.

A month later an event occurred which brought before the public that which had hitherto engaged the thoughts of the

President and the Cabinet alone. The Spanish Intendant (still in control in Louisiana) withdrew the privilege of deposit at New Orleans—a privilege granted to citizens of the United States by the Treaty of 1795, and not to be taken away without conceding "an equivalent on another part of the bank of the Mississippi." This stipulation was wholly disregarded. The act caused the greatest excitement in the Western States. Kentucky was especially aroused. Its Governor informed the President of the infraction of the treaty, and its legislature memorialized Congress in reference to it.

The President was resolved not to be forced into taking premature action upon anything that concerned Louisiana. It was absolutely necessary that his plan should have time to ripen. Though the action of the Spanish Intendant was a matter of universal discussion, Jefferson ignored it in his message of December, 1802, and his allusion to the retrocession of Louisiana had little meaning. The House of Representatives, however, grew restless, and requested the documents relative to the action of the Spanish official. Jefferson made a feint of indulging this request and transmitted to them an account drawn up by Madison. But this threw no new light on the matter; its substance had long before been printed in the newspapers. In a word, Jefferson was employing dilatory tactics to keep the country quiet. The Republicans connived at this course, but the Federalists in the House endeavored to force the President to disclose his policy. Early in June, they moved that the President be called upon to produce all official documents relating to the retrocession of Louisiana. The Republicans rallied to their leader and the motion was voted down. The administration was thus committed to a policy of secrecy, a policy which the Republican party while in opposition had furiously assailed when the Jay treaty was under consideration.

Though voted down, the Federalists felt that they had won a moral victory, and they immediately moved the passage of strong resolutions demanding for the people of the United States the free navigation of the Mississippi River. But the majority had no mind to let the Federalist party by premature

action defeat the President's plans, or, if they were successful, to profit by them. They refused to take up the resolutions of the Federalists and passed a resolution of "perfect confidence in the vigilance and wisdom of the Executive."

The overwhelming power of the administration had been shown, and all intermeddling by Congress effectually checked, but the popular pressure from the West was daily increasing, and its temper was seriously affecting the East. Some move had to be made by the Executive; and, on January 11th, the President nominated R. R. Livingston to be "Minister Plenipotentiary and James Monroe to be Minister Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, with full powers * * * to enter into a treaty or convention with the First Consul of France for the purpose of enlarging and more effectually securing our rights and interests in the river Mississippi and in the Territories eastward thereof." As Spain had not yet formally transferred Louisiana, he at the same time nominated Monroe and Charles Pinckney to have like powers at the Court of Spain, if it should be necessary. The Senate immediately confirmed the nominations.

Jefferson's letter to Monroe, begging him to accept the appointment, admitted that the measure was aimed, primarily, to quiet the country. "Remonstrances, memorials, etc., are now circulating through the whole of the western country, and signed by the body of people. The measures we have been pursuing, being invisible, do not satisfy their minds. Something sensible, therefore, has become necessary. * * * It was essential, then, to send a Minister Extraordinary to be joined with the ordinary one, with discretionary powers. * * * The measure has already silenced the Federalists here. Congress will no longer be agitated by them; and the country will become calm as fast as the information extends over it." That Jefferson was trying to gain time and was playing home politics is shown by the fact that Monroe did not get his instructions and sail before the second week of March.

The Federalist opposition was now centered in fanning the war spirit of the West against Spain. $2,000,000 had been

appropriated, in secret session, "to defray the expenses which might be incurred in relation to the intercourse between the United States and foreign nations." This the Federalists attacked as designed for corruption money at the Courts of France and Spain. The administration, they claimed, was sacrificing the interests of the western States and was meekly purchasing that which, by a rigorous policy, would be ours of right. But their assaults had little effect. At no other period of his career was Jefferson's personal influence more clearly shown than now, when, without a definite policy, and without committing himself to a single promise, he held in check the restless West.

Monroe's instructions covered merely the securing of the island of New Orleans and the Floridas. Failing in this he was to stipulate for the right of deposit near the mouth of the Mississippi. So moderate were Jefferson's demands that he did not stickle for the precise place of deposit. If New Orleans could not be secured, Natchez would be a satisfactory substitute. The French were to be admitted to Louisiana without condition. The instructions contained nothing that Bonaparte could have regarded as in the least hostile to his plans. No provision was made for action in case Bonaparte should refuse the concessions asked. Indeed, Jefferson did not want action. It was after Monroe had landed in France that Madison, by the President's direction, instructed Monroe and Livingston, as soon as they should find that no arrangements could be made with France, "to use all possible procrastination with them, and in the meantime to enter into conference with the British Government, through their ambassador at Paris, to fix principles of alliance, and leave us in peace till Congress meets; and prevent war till next spring."

But Monroe and Livingston had closed the matter before these last instructions left America. Indeed, none of the instructions which Monroe actually bore with him had any bearing on the final agreement with France. On reaching Paris, he found that events had brought the negotiations to a point beyond his power to make or mar them. In January, the news

had reached Paris that the French army in Santo Domingo was annihilated, the island devastated, and the rebellious blacks further beyond control than they had ever been. To recover the island would now cost far more than it was worth. With it lost, Louisiana, which Bonaparte intended should feed and fortify it, was of no further use to him, and the abandonment of Louisiana would serve well to cloak the abandonment of Santo Domingo. Giving up Santo Domingo meant the severance of French traditions, and the confession of failure in an enterprise upon which the pride of the nation was staked. Bonaparte kept up appearances of a vigorous colonial policy several months longer, but his mind was made up to withdraw from the island. He declared the long contemplated war against England and sounded Talleyrand as to the expediency of selling Louisiana. The wily Minister divined the wish of his master and hurried negotiations. Livingston wrote to Madison: "Mr. Talleyrand asked me this day, when pressing the subject, whether we wished to have the whole of Louisiana. I told him no, that our wishes extended only to New Orleans and the Floridas; that the policy of France, however, should dictate to give us the country above the River Arkansas in order to place a barrier between them and Canada. He said that if they gave New Orleans the rest would be of little value, and that he would wish to know 'what we would give for the whole.' I told him it was a subject I had not thought of, but that I supposed we should not object to twenty millions (francs) provided our citizens were paid. He told me this was too low an offer. I told him that as Mr. Monroe would be in town in two days, I would delay my further offer until I had the pleasure of introducing him."

On Monroe's arrival, he and Livingston passed a week haggling over the price named by Bonaparte—one hundred millions of francs and the payment by America of their own citizens' claims. The American envoys finally succeeded in reducing it to sixty millions, and the payment of claims to the amount of twenty millions more—a total of $15,000,000.

To Livingston more than to any other man was due a diplo-

matic success which no other American envoy has ever been able to duplicate. Events, it is true, had conspired to bring it about; but, so far as one man could by prudence and discretion avail himself of events, Livingston had done so. Monroe's popularity in France had added absolutely no weight to the mission. Hardly, however, had the treaty been signed and dispatched to America, before Livingston felt that Monroe was destined to enjoy the credit of it. The news from America served only to confirm this apprehension. Even the President, complacently identifying his own claims with Monroe's, lent his personal influence to appreciate Monroe's services to the disparagement of Livingston's. He wrote General Gates: "I find our opposition is very willing to pluck feathers from Monroe, although not fond of sticking them into Livingston's coat. The truth is, both have a just portion of merit; and were it necessary or proper, it would be shown that each has rendered peculiar services and of important value. These grumblers, too, are very uneasy lest the administration should share some little credit for the acquisition, the whole of which they ascribe to the accident of war. They would be cruelly mortified could they see our files from May, 1801, the first organization of the administration, but more especially from April, 1802. They would see that though we could not say when war would arise, yet we said with energy what would take place when it should arise. We did not, by our intrigues, produce the war; but we availed ourselves of it when it happened." Such also was the tone of the correspondence maintained among the partisans of the President. From June 30th, when the news was divulged, nothing was heard but praise of the great leader who had brought about such magnificent results; and Jefferson could hardly have been expected to exert himself to disabuse the public mind. Those of the Republicans who had their misgivings kept them to themselves; and the murmurings of the Federalist opposition were drowned in "the cheers and congratulations of the happiest society the world then knew."

But amid it all the Republican leaders could not lose sight of their own inconsistency. Such an extension of Executive power

was totally at variance with the rigidly strict construction of the Constitution which they had taught so long. Jefferson himself felt that he had overstepped the bounds of the Constitution, and called an extra session of Congress. To Breckenridge, a member of this Congress, he wrote: "Both Houses, I presume, will see their duty to their country in ratifying and paying for it, so as to secure a good which would otherwise probably be never again in their power. But I suppose they must then appeal to the nation for an additional article to the Constitution approving and confirming an act which the nation had not previously authorized. The Constitution has made no provision for our holding foreign territory, still less for incorporating foreign nations into our Union. The Executive, in seizing the fugitive occurrence which so much advances the good of his country, has done that beyond the Constitution. The Legislature, in casting behind them metaphysical subtleties and risking themselves like faithful servants, must ratify and pay for it and throw themselves on their country. It is the case of a guardian investing the money of his ward in purchasing an important adjacent territory, and saying to him, when of age, 'I did this for your good; I pretend to no right to bind you, you may disavow me and I must get out of the scrape as I can; I thought it my duty to risk myself for you.'" He sketched to the Attorney-General the form of the amendment he desired, but concluded: "I quote this for your consideration, observing that the less that is said about any constitutional difficulty the better; and that it will be desirable for Congress to do what is necessary *in silence*. I find but one opinion as to the necessity of shutting up the country for some time."

A week later he wrote, still more urgently, to Nicholas, one of the Senators from Virginia: "You will observe a hint in Monroe's letter, enclosed, to do without delay what we are bound to do. There is reason, in the opinion of our Ministers, to believe that if the thing were to do over again it could not be obtained and that, if we give the least opening, they will declare the treaty void. * * * Whatever Congress shall think it necessary to do, should be done with as little debate as

possible, and particularly so far as respects constitutional difficulty. I had rather ask an enlargement of power from the nation, where it is found necessary, than to assume it by a construction which would make our powers boundless. Our peculiar security is in the possession of a written Constitution. Let us not make it a blank paper by construction.† * * * If, however, our friends shall think differently, certainly I shall acquiesce with satisfaction, confiding that the good sense of our country will correct the evil of construction when it shall produce ill effects."

The President's message to Congress reviewed the negotiations leading up to the purchase, but had not a word to say of any constitutional obstacle to its ratification. The question of constitutionality he shifted to the shoulders of others. The ensuing debate shows how closely the arguments of the opposition unconsciously followed the lines of Jefferson's secret admissions to his friends. John Randolph, the administrative leader, moved that the treaty be carried into effect, and it was immediately taken up. The speeches of the opposition taxed the powers of the best Republican debaters. They skilfully concentrated their attacks upon the very feature of the treaty on which its advocates knew themselves to be weakest—the pledge to admit the people of Louisiana into the Union. But no logic or oratory could shake the determination of the majority. The passage of Randolph's resolution was a foregone conclusion; and after one day's debate, it was passed by a strict party vote of 90 to 25.

The debate in the Senate followed much the same lines as in the House, with the exception of two speeches. Tracy, of Connecticut, gave a sectional turn to it by declaring that "the relative strength which this admission gives to a southern and western interest is contradictory to the principles of our original Union. To admit Louisiana—a world, and such a world—into our Union would be absorbing the Northern States." John Quincy Adams, elected as a moderate Federalist, held a unique view.

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†See Constitutionality, page 174.

He was Republican in favoring the purchase; Federalist in arguing that the treaty was outside of the Constitution; Jeffersonian, finally, in trying to save the old theory of the Constitution and in urging an amendment to that instrument. The debate in the Senate was, on the Federalist side, more vigorous and able than it had been in the House, and the Republican Senators were driven to an embarrassment they could not hide. The bill passed again by a strict party vote.

Thus the treaty was ratified; but the constitutional difficulty was still unsettled. The dominant party had simply allowed the magnitude of the interest at stake to over-shadow all other considerations. They had not had the candor to acknowledge that the Constitution had provided for no such case nor the courage and consistency to go before the States for instructions. The acquisition doubled the area of the country and secured control of all the great river systems of North America. It was not surprising, therefore, that the overwhelming majority of the people of the United States, dazzled by a material gain so stupendous, were in no mind to engage in hair-splitting refinements over constitutional difficulties, or in gloomy forebodings as to the viciousness of the precedent thus set.

In March, 1804, a bill conferring upon the President autocratic power for the government of the purchased territory was forced through Congress. The pledge to France that the people of Louisiana should be admitted as citizens of the United States was kept only in so far as it granted an ultimate possibility of attaining statehood; but in the intermediate stage the pledge was certainly violated, for the territorial government established was one in which the people of Louisiana had absolutely no share.

Congress, in 1804, for the first time, was brought face to face with the matter of impeachment. The President had submitted letters and affidavits against Pickering, a Federal judge, charging him with drunkenness and illegal and disorderly conduct. Judge Pickering, though summoned, did not appear, but a petition was presented from his son begging a postponement of the proceedings in order that proof of his insanity might

be collected. The petition was refused, but convincing testimony of his insanity was admitted. As the Judge had not resigned, the Senate felt justified in proceeding with the trial. Pickering was declared "guilty as charged," and was removed from office. The House also ordered articles of impeachment to be drawn up against Samuel Chase, one of the Associate Justices of the Supreme court, and his trial was set for the next session. Though not originating with the President, as had the trial of Pickering, the measure was known to be acceptable to him, for he had been among the first to call attention to a charge delivered by Judge Chase to the grand jury at Baltimore in April, 1803. Chase had taken occasion to denounce from the bench the democratic tendencies of the Government, an act which Jefferson deemed a "seditious and official attack on the principles of our Constitution and on the proceedings of a State."

Before Congress adjourned in the spring of 1804, the Republican caucus unanimously re-nominated Jefferson for President. Burr was completely ignored as a candidate for the second place, and George Clinton, of New York, was named. The Federalist caucus put forward C. C. Pinckney, of South Carolina, for President and Rufus King, of New York, for Vice-President.

Immediately after the adjournment of Congress, Jefferson was summoned to Monticello by the illness of his younger daughter, Mrs. Eppes. She died on April 17th, leaving two young children. Jefferson in the loss of this child experienced a sorrow such as he had not felt since the death of his wife. Letters of condolence poured in from his early friends, among them one from Mrs. John Adams, in whose care Mrs. Eppes had been placed when, as a child of ten years, she had sailed to join her father, then Minister to France. Adams himself had felt great bitterness against Jefferson since the inauguration of the latter, and Mrs. Adams shared in her husband's bitterness, but sincere grief and sympathy enabled her to overcome her hesitation. Jefferson replied in a most affectionate strain, and a correspondence ensued in which were reviewed the causes of the alienation between two men once so close to each other. But Mrs. Adams

was still unsatisfied, and the correspondence ceased. It seemed devoid of results at the time, but in years to come it formed the basis of a lasting reconciliation.

Before the Presidential election, the constitutional amendment changing the method of voting for President and Vice-President, had been adopted by every State. Under its workings Jefferson and Clinton received 162 electoral votes and Pinckney and King only 14.

The event of the session of the Congress that met in November was the impeachment trial of Justice Chase. In February, 1805, the case was opened in the Senate Chamber by the managers from the House. From the beginning the Republican prosecution had recognized that they had attempted too much. They themselves were uncertain in their views of what an impeachment meant, and even the charges embraced no offense known to the statute books or to the common law. The array of counsel for the defendant far outweighed that of the prosecution in talents and legal learning. As in the trial of Pickering, so now, the form in which the Senate should put its final judgment was of vital importance. The Senate agreed that it should answer the question, "Is Samuel Chase guilty or not guilty of a high crime or misdemeanor as charged in the article just read?" When they came to a vote, the Senate acquitted the defendant on every charge, nearly one-fourth of the Republican Senators voting in the negative. John Randolph was deeply chagrined at the result. Jefferson had held himself aloof from the trial, and his correspondence does not show that he was in the least irritated or disappointed by the acquittal. His indifference cut Randolph, whose heart was set upon a conviction, to the quick, and from the trial of Chase may be dated the beginning of the fierce and dramatic opposition which Randolph led against the President.

THE SECOND ADMINISTRATION.

On March 4th, 1805, Jefferson for the second time took the oath of office as President of the United States. His inaugural was

merely a review of the administration just ended, and was far below his first inaugural in breadth and power. Touching the Louisiana purchase, he adopted the broad and indefinite ground on which Congress had confirmed it, and gave no intimation that he had ever held a different view. "I know," said he, "that the acquisition of Louisiana has been disapproved by some from a candid apprehension that the enlargement of our territory would endanger its union. But who can limit the extent to which the federative principle may operate effectively? The larger our association, the less will it be shaken by local passions; and in any view, is it not better that the opposite bank of the Mississippi should be settled by our own brethren and children, than by strangers of another family?"

The summer of 1805 saw concluded the Tripolitan war. In the conduct of this war the President had, for four years, systematically reversed his cherished policy of peace. The war had been marked by splendid deeds of courage on the part of the little navy. After a long series of hostilities, Dernah, the second city of importance in Tripoli, had been captured by a co-operation of the American forces with Hamet, the rightful Pasha, against his usurping brother Jussuff. The expedition was conducted by Gen. Eaton, United States Consul at Tunis. Despite the uniform success of the American arms, however, the United States Consul General at Algiers weakly concluded with Jussuff a treaty which deserted Hamet, compelled Eaton to quit Dernah, and, though it relieved the United States Government of further payment of tribute, it did so only on the condition of paying to the pirate nation $60,000 for the ransom of the officers and crew of the *"Philadelphia."* The four years' war had cost heavily in money and lives, but the navy had gained what it lacked before—discipline and experience in real fighting. These results, however, were not in Jefferson's mind when he began it, and the final treaty to which he gave his consent was no more than a compromise.

Hardly had Jefferson been inaugurated before relations, not only with England, but with France and Spain, assumed a serious aspect. In the early summer of 1805, there were indications

that France, now under the Emperor Napoleon, was inciting Spain to make trouble over the Louisiana Purchase, under the pretext of uncertainty as to the boundaries of the territory conveyed. Jefferson was for applying the old threat of a maritime alliance with England; but as Spain became more insolent on the southwestern frontier, he gave up the idea of coercing Napoleon, and determined to ask his mediation for purchasing the two Floridas from Spain. He did not dare to suggest the purchase to Congress formally, but sent to the House a batch of papers bearing on the matter, with an injunction of secrecy. John Randolph as chairman of the committee to which they were referred, learned the President's plan in an interview with him. He refused utterly to give it his sanction and, heading a few dissatisfied members, called the "Quids," broke from the government. He was supported by the Federalists for the rest of the session. In spite of this alliance, however, the President had a bill for the purchase forced through both Houses.

In the meantime the battle of Trafalgar had occurred October 21st, 1805, and Napoleon's sea power had been annihilated. Jefferson, nevertheless, continued to conciliate him, and had a bill passed prohibiting all trade with any port in the island of Santo Domingo over which the French flag did not fly. England now set herself to ruin the American carrying trade, which in the last few years had come to be almost the only means of communication between the nations of Europe and their colonial dependencies. She established blockades of all French colonies, and later of the Straits of Dover and the English channel. All rights of neutrals were at an end. All previous decisions of the Admiralty Courts of England touching American shipping were reversed, and seizure and confiscation in all waters were the order of the day. The distress among the seafaring and commercial citizens of the Atlantic seaboard was extreme, and Congress was besieged with memorials, petitions, and exhortations for relief. Jefferson left the problem with Congress. After months of debate and uncertainty, Congress passed a Non-Importation Bill, forbidding the importation of certain articles from England and her dependencies, after November 15th, 1806.

The measure met the fiercest opposition from Randolph's followers and the Federalists.

Randolph's defection was not unexpected. He had been restless ever since the consummation of the Louisiana purchase; and the indifference of the President to the outcome of the trial of Justice Chase had sorely wounded him in his most vulnerable point—his vanity. Jefferson affected to despise his opposition on the ground of his well known unreliability and vacillation, but it can hardly be doubted that the President at first looked with real alarm upon this defection. It was the first to occur, after a whole administration of concord; and its head was the former administrative leader in the House. When, however, its harmless character was shown by the overwhelming majority which the administration at all times controlled, Randolph turned to intrigues by which he hoped to defeat one of the President's cherished plans. Early in 1805, Jefferson had made known his intention of retiring at the end of his second term, and it was understood that he favored Madison as his successor. Randolph had a profound contempt for Madison, and he immediately took up Monroe, then at Madrid, as an opposition candidate. He wrote Monroe letters couched in terms of most arrant flattery. Monroe, however, was too cautious to antagonize the President; and all Randolph's communications were made known to Jefferson. While Jefferson did not fear Randolph alone, he would have feared Randolph if aided by Monroe; and his letters to Monroe cautioned him to be wary of Randolph. Thus there was forced upon the President a course of petty intrigue to which he had been a stranger during his first administration.

An event now occurred which inflamed the country's irritation against England. British warships had for months been cruising around the ports of the United States, stopping coasters, seizing merchant-men, searching all ships for deserters, and impressing citizens of the United States. All these indignities had been tamely borne, but in April, 1806, an outrage was perpetrated which could not be overlooked. A warship, the *Leander,* without provocation fired into a coasting vessel off Sandy

Hook and killed one of her crew. The most intense excitement ensued. The President immediately issued a proclamation calling for the arrest of the *Leander's* commander, and prohibiting the furnishing of all supplies to her and to two other British vessels in her company. The United States Minister in England was immediately notified and instructed as to what reparation to demand from that government.

In the midst of such disturbed foreign relations, Jefferson's Government was menaced by a danger at home, which seemed to strike at the very integrity of the Union. Aaron Burr was again to figure as the evil genius of the administration. As Vice-President he had been regarded as a man without a party; his ambition in New York State had been thwarted by Hamilton; and he had killed Hamilton in a duel. Though under indictment for murder, he sat as Vice-President during the session of 1804-5; and in the early spring of 1805, he had gone west, avowing to his intimates that he had forever done with life in the United States. Many rumors were current as to the projects on which he was engaged, but men agreed in ascribing to him plans for the conquest of Mexico from Spain. It was also a matter of common report that he had spent much time with General Wilkinson, the commander of the Army in the Western Territory, and with Gen. Andrew Jackson, then in civilian life at Nashville, Tennessee. In November, 1805, he had returned to Washington and remained there several months, sounding every officer of the Army and Navy suspected of disaffection to the administration. So cautious, however, had he been, that while none embraced his schemes, none thought it necessary to warn the government.

In August, 1806, Burr again went west, and purchased a large tract of land in Kentucky. News came that the new estate was the scene of extensive preparations for a military expedition. Jefferson was not entirely ignorant of Burr's movements, for one Daveiss, the United States Attorney for the District of Kentucky, had written to him several times in regard to them. But Daveiss' information had not alarmed him. He was for the first time put seriously on his guard by an interview which

Gen. Eaton, of Tripoli fame, sought with him in September, 1806. Eaton was said to feel aggrieved at the failure of the government to recognize the value of his services in Africa. He had been approached by Burr in Washington and had not been averse to listening to him. He now warned the President, but so guardedly as to offer no sure ground for executive action.

Toward the last of October, more specific information came from the West. Burr's agents made no concealment of establishing a military encampment near Marietta, Ohio. There they were joined by armed parties from up the river. Various explanations were given of their destination. Some openly declared that the purpose of the expedition embraced the separation of the West from the Union.

In view of this definite information, and of the steadily increasing rumors, the President now dispatched to the scene a special agent, empowered to call into service the military as well as the civil authority of the Territory should the necessity arise. Orders were also sent to the Governors of the Orleans and Mississippi Territories, and to the commanders of the land and naval forces operating in them, enjoining them to be on the alert to check all infringements of the neutrality laws. Special instructions were sent to Gen. Wilkinson in order to show him that he was under surveillance, and if possible to hold him loyal. But Wilkinson had already grown alarmed and had determined to reinstate himself with the government. With 500 soldiers he was encamped at Nachitoches prepared to oppose a threatened Spanish irruption. Burr had been in steady communication with him and had fully unfolded his plans to him. Wilkinson now forwarded all these communications to the President, who on the strength of them issued a proclamation that certain preparations had been set on foot against the dominions of Spain in North America, and calling upon all good citizens and all the officers of the United States, within their respective functions, to aid in bringing the conspirators to judgment. There was no mention of Burr's name, nor of any designs against the integrity of the Union. Orders for immediate and

summary action were also sent along with the proclamation. All Burr's men and stores were to be seized.

It was not long before matters took on a serious aspect. Either from the connivance or the blundering of the judicial officers of the West, Burr's movement seemed to be gaining ground. Daveiss was a vigorous officer, and early in November he had made a motion for Burr's arrest. The Judge had refused it, but when a grand jury was impanelled, Daveiss found that his action had been premature and moved for the discharge of the jury. A second time Daveiss renewed his motion in the District court, and again Burr was released. But the grand jury did more. They signed a declaration to the effect that Burr had meditated nothing dangerous to the peace and well-being of the United States. So strong was the sympathy of the immediate section with Burr, that the action of the District Attorney was regarded as a piece of persecution originating with Jefferson.

The local authorities of Ohio and Kentucky were, if not disloyal to the government, at least negligent; for, notwithstanding the President's proclamation, and the passage of the necessary measures by the legislatures of those two States, Burr's forces were allowed to escape in boats down the Ohio. He himself joined them at the mouth of the Cumberland, and by January, 1807, the combined forces were as far down the Mississippi as Natchez. In spite of the advantage Burr had gained from the decision of the court in Kentucky, his great expedition had dwindled to the pitiful size of one hundred men, carried in thirteen boats.

Wilkinson had in the meantime been acting with a decision and vigor to which he had hitherto been a stranger. He had made the most extensive preparations at New Orleans to resist Burr, had had the legislature of the Territory summoned to a special session, and had arrested three of the most conspicuous of Burr's accomplices, two of whom were sent North.

Burr learned of these preparations, and, landing his handful of men at Natchez, established a camp there. On the arrival of the President's proclamation he surrendered and appeared be-

fore the Territorial court, but the court decided that there was no evidence that Burr had committed any offense within the boundaries over which it had jurisdiction. Burr fled from the Territory, but Wilkinson sent officers after him, and he was arrested in Alabama and carried thence to Richmond, Virginia. On March 30th, he came before Justice Marshall, who was presiding over the District court, for examination and commitment. George Hay, the Attorney of the District, made charges of treason and misdemeanor against him. The Judge dismissed the former, but put him under heavy bonds to answer the second charge at the next session of the court, beginning May 22nd. Before the collapse of the conspiracy had been announced in the East, the wildest rumors as to Burr's strength were afloat. Jefferson, however, affected throughout to regard the conspiracy as trivial. In his annual message, in December, he dismissed the whole matter in a few words. His private correspondence, also, was of the calmest tone. "Burr's enterprise," he wrote to Charles Clay, "is the most extraordinary since the days of Don Quixote. It is so extravagant that those who know his understanding would not believe it if the proofs admitted doubt. He has meant to place himself on the throne of Montezuma, and extend his empire to the Alleghany, seizing on New Orleans as the instrument of compulsion for our Western States. I think his undertaking effectually crippled by the activity of the *Ohio*."

The country, however, was not so well satisfied. John Randolph moved for information from the President, and on January 22nd, 1807, Jefferson sent to Congress a special message narrating the whole conspiracy from the September preceding and naming Burr as its central figure. This was the date when, he claimed, he had first heard of Burr's course. It cannot be decided whether he was now for the first time sincerely convinced of Burr's treason to the United States, or merely thought this the first favorable opportunity to make the matter public. At any rate, he had never before expressed the idea that the movement was "an illegal combination of private individuals against the peace and safety of the Union." The message, so far from allaying the excitement of the country, served only

to confirm the vague alarm which prevailed, for the news of the utter weakness of Burr's following had not yet reached the East. To complete the unfortunate turn things had taken for Jefferson, the Republican majority in the Senate lost its head and passed, without the necessary three readings, a bill for the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus*. The bill failed in the House, but it gave the opposition abundant ground for attack. Furthermore, the administration sustained a rebuke when the two accomplices of Burr whom Wilkinson had sent North were brought before Chief Justice Marshall and promptly discharged from custody on the ground of the insufficiency of the evidence connecting them with any act of treason. Jefferson saw that his cue was to treat the whole conspiracy as a trivial thing. This tone was assumed, as far as was possible, in his special message relating to the conspiracy, but it dominated his correspondence with Wilkinson. The latter was bent upon retrieving himself for his dalliance with Burr by a show of extraordinary activity in suppressing Burr's schemes. Letters to the President poured in from Wilkinson, magnifying the proportion of the enterprise and emphasizing its danger to the country. Jefferson could not afford to offend him. Still less could he afford to let such representations go unheeded. His correspondence for the period is a marvel of tact and skill.

While Jefferson was thus engaged in checking over-enthusiastic friends, and silencing opponents, Burr came up for examination before Chief Justice Marshall, then holding Circuit court in Richmond, Virginia. He had employed an array of counsel far superior in ability and legal learning to the advocates employed by the government. No sympathy was expected by the administration from the Judge who was to preside. On April 1st, Judge Marshall delivered an opinion, in which he declined to commit Burr for treason on the evidence of Eaton and Wilkinson, and he went out of his way to call to task the Executive for neglect of duty in providing proof of treason. He committed Burr for misdemeanor merely, and admitted him to bonds for appearance at the next session of court.

The lethargy of Jefferson during the actual progress of Burr's

schemes must always remain inexplicable. But henceforth personal reasons urged him to try to bring Burr to conviction. In the shape the case had now assumed he saw an attack, by Federalist influences, upon the power of the Executive to punish treason. Marshall's strictures upon his course bit the deeper because at heart he knew them to be largely just. He wrote to Bowdoin, United States Minister to Spain: "Hitherto we have believed our law to be that suspicion on probable grounds was sufficient cause to commit a person for trial, allowing time to collect witnesses till the trial, but the judges here have decided that conclusive evidence of guilt must be ready in the moment of arrest, or they will discharge the malefactor. If this is still insisted on, Burr will be discharged, because his crimes having been sown from Maine through the whole line of the western States to New Orleans, we cannot bring the witnesses here under four months. The fact is that the Federalists make Burr's course their own, and exert their whole influence to shield him from punishment. And it is unfortunate that Federalism is still predominant in our judiciary department, which is consequently in opposition to the Legislative and Executive branches and is able to baffle their measures often."

In a letter to his political confidant, W. B. Giles, his animosity to Marshall mounted still higher: "That there should be anxiety and doubt in the public mind, in the present defective state of the proof, is not wonderful; and this has been sedulously encouraged by the tricks of the Judges to force trials before it is possible to collect the evidence. * * * The presiding Judge meant only to throw dust in the eyes of his audience. But all the principles of law are to be perverted which would bear on the favorite offenders who endeavor to overrun this odious Republic. * * * If there had ever been an instance in this or the preceding administration of Federal Judges so applying principles of law as to condemn a Federal or acquit a Republican offender, I should have judged them in the present case with more charity."

His feeling toward Burr is thus expressed: "Against Burr, personally, I never had one hostile sentiment. I never, indeed,

thought him an honest, frank-dealing man, but considered him as a crooked gun, or other perverted machine whose aim or stroke you could never be sure of. Still, while he possessed the confidence of the nation, I thought it my duty to respect in him their confidence, and to treat him as if he deserved it."

The hearing on the indictment of Burr began on the date set. Richmond was crowded with men attracted thither by a variety of motives. Most of them made no concealment of sympathy with Burr, and every social and class influence was exerted in his favor. The course of the Chief Justice alarmed all Republicans. Still refusing to commit Burr for treason, he granted the motion of Burr's counsel, and issued a subpoena calling for the presence of the President as a witness in the case. Jefferson had hitherto borne the insults and sneers of Luther Martin, Burr's leading counsel, with something like patience, but this ruling of Marshall stirred him to anger. He defied the summons of the court, basing his refusal to obey it upon the fundamental independence of the three departments of government. In the first flush of his resentment he wished to have Luther Martin committed as *particeps criminis* with Burr. Nothing, however, was done in this direction.

A new source of irritation now arose. Gen. Wilkinson came on from the West to take the stand as the chief witness for the prosecution. The world knew that Wilkinson had long been engaged with Burr, had been the recipient of his confidence, and had basely used this intimacy to ingratiate himself with the government. He was the object of universal loathing at Richmond. Yet Jefferson was forced to stand sponsor for him. On the witness stand Wilkinson was worse than useless to Jefferson. John Randolph, of Roanoke, was foreman of the grand jury. Bitterly as he hated Jefferson, as between Jefferson and Burr he was for aiding the former; but when Jefferson stooped to rely on Wilkinson, Randolph's aid was at an end. With Burr's counsel he was for indicting Wilkinson along with Burr, but his effort to do this failed. Burr alone was indicted on a charge of treason, and his trial was set for August 3rd. Thus far

the President's successes had more than counterbalanced the defeats he had met.

When the third stage of this remarkable trial began, the government put numerous witnesses on the stand. Nothing, however, proved the overt treason charged in the indictment. The case went to the jury, and, after a day's deliberation, Burr was pronounced not guilty of the charge of treason.

The charge of high misdemeanor yet remained. Burr gave new bail; a new jury was sworn; and the new indictment was read on September 9th. The question of jurisdiction was now raised. By the consent of both sides, Burr and one of his colleagues, Blennerhassett, were committed for preparing an expedition against a foreign nation with whom the United States were at peace, and were bound over to appear before the Circuit court of the United States to be held at Chillicothe, Ohio, in January, 1808. Neither appeared. Their bonds were forfeited and they fled abroad.

The government welcomed such a solution of the matter. Jefferson had no cause for self-congratulations on any part of the whole Burr episode. During its latter stages he had raised questions as to the relative power of the departments of government impossible of solution. The chasm between the Executive and Judicial* branches was widened; and this was the only permanent result of the conspiracy and trial of Burr.

While Jefferson was thus absorbed in domestic events, there was no improvement in our relations with England. A year had passed and the outrage perpetrated off Sandy Hook was not once explained or apologized for. Monroe and Pinckney had negotiated a treaty, and the State Department at Washington had received it in March, 1807. Its provisions were extremely unsatisfactory and the tone of England was haughty. To have presented it to Congress would have meant war. Jefferson, therefore, in his sincere desire to preserve peace, did not lay it before that body, but allowed it to disperse without a word

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*See Judiciary, Federal, page 273. Also Supreme Court, page 401.

on the subject. Jefferson wrote Monroe that the treaty could not be ratified; but urged him to delay negotiations to gain time—"the most precious of all things to us."

In the midst of the tension (for rumors of the nature of the treaty had spread through the country) the outrage of the previous year was repeated, with even more exasperating and humiliating particulars, when in June, 1807, the *Chesapeake* was fired into by the *Leopard,* a British man-of-war, outside the Capes at Norfolk. The *Chesapeake,* though a frigate intended for fighting, was totally unprepared for action. Three of her crew were killed and eighteen wounded. After having been severely crippled she surrendered and was searched. The British commander refused to receive her as a prize, and with difficulty she made her way back to Hampton Roads.

As before, Jefferson issued a proclamation calling for the departure from American waters of all armed vessels belonging to Great Britain, and, in the event of their refusal to depart, forbidding them to be supplied with the necessaries of life. A special messenger was sent to England to demand satisfaction. But the futility of these two measures was everywhere recognized. Republicans as well as Federalists called upon the President for action—for action that should show a spirit worthy of respect from a foreign nation. Congress was called to meet in special session in October, when the President hoped to be able to announce from England a more conciliatory policy. But the hope was vain. Monroe's career in England had been a succession of failures, and he had returned to America in no cordial mood towards Jefferson, the author of the innumerable humiliations which he had been made to suffer. The contemptuous attitude of England culminated in November, 1807, when the King approved new orders in Council for the suppression of American interests on the sea. Napoleon's successes on land had broken down all semblance of neutrality among the powers of Europe. He forced every country to take the side either of France or of England. England had only her naval power with which to oppose this coercion. According to the new orders, American shipping was held to be no longer

neutral, for it had not observed impartiality toward belligerents, and had obeyed Napoleon's paper blockades established by the Berlin Decree a year before.

The new British orders threw the country into an uproar. Jefferson had called Congress to meet in special session, but he had no solution to propose for the troubles which beset the country. He dwelt on the necessity of preparations for coast defense, but was feeble and halting in his recommendations for a land force. His most ardent admirers could not but feel the inadequacy of every measure suggested.

Nothing was done for two months after the assembling of Congress, save to wait for some possible news from England of a favorable character. All hopes of an amicable adjustment of the trouble were swept away when, in December, England's Orders in Council reached the President. It was now thought that Jefferson must take a stand. He must give up his lifelong dream of peace and accept war. But neither Europe nor his own country knew the extraordinary tenacity with which Jefferson adhered to an idea. He now adopted the most extraordinary course ever devised to avoid war. With the aid of Madison he formulated a brief message to Congress recommending to it the advantages which might be expected from an inhibition of the departure of our vessels from the ports of the United States. Despite the vehement remonstrance of Gallatin, the one adviser for whose opinion he had profound respect, he sent the message with a packet of documents to both Houses. The Senate at once went into secret session. Now ensued a process of legislation as extraordinary as was the purpose underlying it. In a few minutes a bill was drawn up embodying the President's wishes. The rule of three separate readings on three separate days was suspended. No debate was allowed. Within four hours a bill had been passed which laid an embargo for an indefinite period on all shipping within the ports of the United States. But the House was less subservient than the Senate. Though it went immediately into secret session, the passage of the bill was delayed three days. John Randolph, of Roanoke, leading the Quids and Federalists, eagerly welcomed

the opportunity to embarrass and alarm the President. As fast as one modification of the Senate Bill was voted down, he presented another. No limitation was allowed to the time for which the embargo was to prevail, nor was any class of vessels, except at the discretion of the President, to be exempted. Five days after the Orders in Council reached Jefferson, he signed the act for an absolute embargo and thus became master of the commerce of his country—a power to which neither George III nor Napoleon had ever approached. The reason assigned for the measure was that a lack of trade with the United States would bring England to her knees.

The effects of the Embargo Act were almost immediately felt, and they were felt first by that section of country always most inimical to Republicanism—that is, by New England and the parts of New York adjacent to Canada, where the shipping trade was the chief source of revenue. To suspend this trade even for a day would produce results of inconvenience in thousands of homes. To suspend it indefinitely meant starvation for the laboring classes and ruin for the wealthy and the moderately well-to-do. Smuggling was inevitable. At first, it was engaged in by the bold and lawless. As the pinch of necessity became greater, it was taken up by citizens usually law abiding. To enforce the law in great seaports and centers of population was not difficult, but to enforce it along the Canadian border was impossible. Jefferson issued a proclamation directed against the people around Lake Champlain as conspirators and insurgents. The proclamation was not heeded, and acts of violence became frequent along the whole border. More serious for the President than these insurrections was the steady opposition developed in the thickly settled sections of New England, where town after town passed resolutions denouncing the act and even threatening a dissolution of the Union. The election in many of those States had in the spring gone overwhelmingly Anti-Republican. When Congress met in November, 1808, the Federalists felt bold enough to move the repeal of the Embargo Act. The administration had nothing to show as its results but suffering at home and failure abroad. The President

feared to stake his prestige on forcing the Republican votes of the House into a defense of the Act. As early as June, 1808, he had written to Dr. Leib: "They [the extreme Federalists] are endeavoring to convince England that we suffer more by the embargo than they do, and that, if they will hold out a while, we must abandon it. It is true, the time will come when we must abandon it. But if this is before the repeal of the Orders of Council, we must abandon it only for a state of war. The day is not distant when that will be preferable to a longer continuance of the embargo. But we can never remove that, and let our vessels go out and be taken under these orders without making reprisals." He left Congress at liberty to do what it would. After three and a half months of debate, modifications so extensive were passed as to amount to a virtual repeal of the Embargo Act. Most of these modifications were to take effect on March 15th, 1809. Jefferson signed the bill embracing them three days before going out of office. He protested to the last that the Embargo, if it had been steadfastly adhered to, would have accomplished its purpose, and American shipping would have been restored to its rights without war.

Jefferson's embarrassment over the Embargo was accompanied by annoyance at jealousies within his party. He was the undisputed leader, a title which meant far more than being merely an official head. He had long since made his choice of a successor. This was well understood; and in January, 1808, his partisans in the Virginia Legislature held a caucus and named Madison as their choice for the next President. Following this example, a Congressional caucus was held, and again Madison was named; but many Republican Senators and Representatives held aloof. Madison, in the minds of these latter, was inseparably associated with Hamilton as an author of the Federalist; and this idea was encouraged by Randolph and his immediate followers, who, as we have seen, had been pushing Monroe as their opposition candidate. George Clinton, though named by Madison's supporters as the candidate for Vice-President, had also become sullen at Madison's elevation over him. In the midst of these unseemly but inevitable quar-

rels within the party, Jefferson strove for harmony, but would not give up his favorite. He wrote to Monroe letters even more soothing than those he had dispatched while the latter was abroad. He went with him through the entire history of his late mission, denying any intention to slight or ignore him, and pleading for the old intimacy between him and Madison. Monroe, besides fearing to break openly from Jefferson, even though the latter was soon to be a private citizen, cherished a deep reverence for him, and this asserted itself after a brief period of chagrin. Neither John Randolph nor George Clinton was the man to solidify the Federalist opposition to the Embargo and to win its vote. The Federalists on their side had to give up hope of a coalition, and in the summer of 1808, they put forth their old candidates, Pinckney and King. Madison was favored by good fortune throughout. The legislatures were chosen before the Embargo Act reached its highest pitch of unpopularity, and Madison received the electoral votes of several States that returned Federal Congressmen in the autumn. Notwithstanding this fact, the vote for Madison and Clinton fell far below that cast for Jefferson and Clinton four years before. Jefferson had received 162 electoral votes; Madison now received only 122. The Federalists had received 14 in 1804; in 1808 they received 47.

JEFFERSON'S LAST YEARS.

On March 4th, 1809, Thomas Jefferson transferred the executive power to James Madison. He had eight years before indulged in many professions of reluctance to undertake the duties of President. The sincerity of these professions may be a matter of doubt, but no doubt can arise concerning the expressions of relief which now escaped him. Had he retired four years earlier they would have had no existence; but his second administration had brought with it much that was harassing. He was disappointed at the miscarriage of his favorite theory, the necessity of preserving peace at whatsoever cost. The Embargo Act had forced the country into measures which had

threatened its dissolution and had brought great financial distress to a certain section, with a corresponding depression in all. His party had been compelled virtually to acknowledge its failure by abandoning it. True, he had tasted of supreme power, but he had also felt, as never before, its accompanying penalties. His appointments to office had won him enemies as well as friends. Always keenly sensitive to slander and even to criticism, he had for two years been sorely wounded. Without these reasons, indeed, he would willingly have retired. Rotation in office had always been one of the cardinal points in his political creed; and he had never ceased to commend Washington's example. He had early in his first term announced his intention of following it. Now that personal feelings were thus thrown into the scale, he looked toward retirement with more than willingness. For many months before, his letters are full of longing for the day of relief. This culminates in a letter written from Washington to M. Dupont de Nemours two days before Madison was installed. "Within a few days I retire to my family, my books and farms; and having gained the harbor myself, I shall look on my friends still buffeting the storm, with anxiety indeed, but not with envy. Never did a prisoner, released from his chains, feel such relief as I shall on shaking off the shackles of power. Nature intended me for the tranquil pursuits of science, by rendering them my supreme delight. But the enormities of the times in which I have lived have forced me to take a part in resisting them, and to commit myself on the boisterous ocean of political passions. I thank God for the opportunity of retiring from them without censure, and carrying with me the most consoling proofs of public approbation."

Jefferson reached Monticello on March 15th. The usual discomforts of the journey inseparable from the season were increased by a snow storm through which he traveled eight hours, most of the time on horseback. He experienced no disastrous results, and wrote the President that from this he "had more confidence in his *vis vitae* than he had before entertained." His neighbors of Albemarle County had wished to

give him a public reception, but this he had evaded, hoping instead, as he wrote, "to have opportunities of taking them individually by the hand at our court house and other public places, and of exchanging assurances of mutual esteem." His domestic circle was made up of his daughter, Mrs. Randolph, and her husband and children, and Jefferson again found in their society the felicities of home life of which he had long been deprived and in which his affectionate nature found its highest delight.

The course of his life now settled into much the same channels as those in which it had flowed twelve years before. From this time on, his correspondence acquires a value which it did not possess before, important as it has been seen to be in every period of his life. Nothing so clearly shows the wide range and versatility of his mind; and it is now the sole record of his pursuits. At first he was disinclined to devote himself to the labor of letter writing. He was, however, drawn irresistibly into it. Addresses and congratulations on his public service poured in from associations and individuals, and to answering these he brought the same interest as he had to those of eight years before. Pamphlets on almost every conceivable subject were continually reaching him, and to the author of each he felt that he owed an appropriate and courteous reply. His interest in literary and scientific matters seemed to take on new life; but the very leisure which enabled him to cultivate them brought its own cessation. His scientific tastes had made him known to every learned body in Europe and America, and he was a member of most of them. He was especially enthusiastic for the success of the American Philosophic Society, of which he was twice elected President during his retirement.

By far the best expression of the routine of his life at this time is given by Jefferson himself in a letter to General Kosciusko, written in February, 1810. It repeats, in peculiar fashion, much of the enthusiastic delight in his new surroundings which was to be seen in the letters written soon after his retirement from Washington's Cabinet. "I am retired to Monticello, where, in the bosom of my family and surrounded by

my books, I enjoy a repose to which I have been long a stranger. My mornings are devoted to correspondence. From breakfast to dinner, I am in my shops, my garden, or on horseback among my farms; from dinner to dark, I give to society and recreation with my neighbors and friends; and from candle light to early bedtime, I read. My health is perfect; and my strength considerably re-enforced by the activity of the course I pursue. Perhaps it is as great as usually falls to the lot of near sixty-seven years of age. I talk of plows and harrows, of seeding and harvesting, with my neighbors, and of politics, too, if they choose, with as little reserve as the rest of my fellow citizens, and feel at length the blessing of being free to say and do what I please, without being responsible for it to any mortal. A part of my occupation, and by no means the least pleasing, is the direction of the studies of such young men as ask it. They place themselves in the neighboring village and have the use of my library and counsel and make a part of my society. In advising the course of their reading, I endeavor to keep their attention fixed on the main objects of all science, the freedom and happiness of man."

In contrast with this bright picture, the letter concludes with the first intimation given by Jefferson that his financial affairs were not in such a state as he could wish. "Instead of the unalloyed happiness of retiring unembarrassed and independent to the enjoyment of my estate, which is ample for my limited views, I have to pass such a length of time in a thraldom of mind never before known to me. Except for this, my happiness would have been perfect."

About this time Jefferson allowed himself to fall into apprehensions as to his health similar to those which he had entertained on his retirement from Washington's Cabinet. His natural brightness of disposition, however, prevented him from being plunged into anything like a valetudinarian gloom. He rather regarded the loss of health as something which was to come in the course of nature and which must be bravely faced. This acquiescent frame of mind is shown in a letter written to Dr. Rush in August, 1811. "I write to you from a place ninety

miles from Monticello, near the New London of this State, which I visit three or four times a year, and stay from a fortnight to a month at a time. I have fixed myself comfortably, keep some books here, bring others occasionally, am in the solitude of a hermit and quite at leisure to attend to my absent friends. * * * Having to conduct my grandson through his course of mathematics, I have resumed that study with great avidity. It was ever my favorite one. * * * I have forgotten much and recover it with more difficulty than when in vigor of my mind I originally acquired it. It is wonderful to me that old men should not be sensible that their minds keep pace with their bodies in the progress of decay. * * * I have had a long attack of rheumatism without fever and without pain, while I keep myself still. * * * I take moderate rides without much fatigue; but my journey to this place in a hard-going gig gave me great suffering, which I expect will be renewed on my return as soon as I am able. The loss of the power of taking exercise would be a sore affliction to me. It has been the delight of my retirement to be in constant bodily activity, looking after my affairs. It was never damped, as the pleasures of reading are, by the question *cui bono?* for what object? * * * The sedentary character of my public occupations sapped a constitution naturally sound and vigorous, and draws it to an earlier close. But it will still last quite as long as I wish it. There is a fullness of time when men should go, and not occupy too long the ground to which others have the right to advance."

The beginning of 1812 was rendered memorable in Jefferson's life by his reconciliation with John Adams. This was brought about by their common friend, Dr. Rush, with whom Jefferson had several times discussed Adams' estrangement from him. Since Mrs. Adams' letter to Jefferson on the death of his daughter, in 1804, no communication had passed between the families. The correspondence of the two old men now became voluminous, and was henceforth uninterrupted. Adams' breadth of interest was narrower than Jefferson's, and he enjoyed comparative immunity from a burdensome correspondence. He

therefore had more leisure to devote to reading, and was never weary of parading this in his letters. The favorite topic of the old men was the tenets of the Christian belief as viewed from a historical and rationalistic standpoint. The correspondence seems to have delighted Jefferson. Even the first of his letters to Adams shows a buoyancy to which he had for some months been a stranger. "I think little of them (politics), and say less. I have given up newspapers, in exchange for Tacitus and Thucydides, for Newton and Euclid, and I find myself much the happier. Sometimes indeed I look back to former occurrences and remembrances of our old friends and fellow laborers, who have fallen before us. Of the signers of the Declaration of Independence I see now living not more than half a dozen on your side the Potomac, and on this side myself only. You and I have been wonderfully spared, myself with remarkable health and considerable activity of body and mind. I am on horseback three or four hours every day, visit three or four times a year a possession I have ninety miles distant, performing the winter journey on horseback. I walk little, however, a single mile being too much for me, and I live in the midst of my grandchildren, one of whom has lately promoted me to be a great-grandfather."

War with England was declared in June of this year. Jefferson in his correspondence showed himself thoroughly in accord with the administration. As disturbing an element as was war in his theories, he felt that the present one was justifiable—a feeling which was strengthened by the recollection of British wantonness toward American shipping during his own second administration. He outlined what seemed to him the most advantageous plan of campaign for the American forces. He wrote to Colonel Duane: "I see as you do the difficulties and defects we have to encounter in war, and should expect disasters if we had an enemy on land capable of inflicting them. * * * The acquisition of Canada this year, as far as the neighborhood of Quebec, will be a mere matter of marching, and will give us experience for the attack of Halifax the next, and the final expulsion of England from the American continent. Halifax

once taken, every cock-boat of hers must return to England for repairs. Their fleet will annihilate our public force on the water, but our privateers will eat out the vitals of their commerce. Perhaps they will burn New York or Boston. If they do," he continued, evidently believing that war was a horror which must be ended even by the most extreme measures, "we must burn the city of London, not by expensive fleets or Congreve rockets, but by employing an hundred or two Jack-the-painters, whom nakedness, famine, desperation and hardened vice will abundantly furnish among themselves."

With the continuation of the war, the blockade cut off the importation of goods into the country, and caused a rapid rise in prices of all manufactured articles. In addition to this the agricultural sections suffered from the non-exportation of their products. In the more populous sections of the country extensive manufactories sprang up; but in Jefferson's section recourse was had to household manufacture. Jefferson caught the lesson that a new era had been ushered in, and admitted that a change had been wrought in some of his economic theories. It is interesting to see the effects of the war upon his own domestic affairs. "I had no idea," he wrote in January, 1813, "that manufactures had made such progress in the maritime States, and particularly of the number of carding and spinning machines dispersed through the whole country. We are but beginning here to have them in our private families. Small spinning jinnies of from half a dozen to twenty spindles will soon, however, make their way into the humblest cottages as well as into the richest houses, and nothing is more certain than that the coarse and middling clothing for our families will forever hereafter continue to be made within ourselves. I have hitherto, myself, depended on foreign manufactures, but I have now thirty-five spindles going, a hand carding-machine, and looms for flying shuttles for the supply of my own farms, which will never be relinquished in my time. The continuance of war will fix the habit generally, and out of the evils of impressment and of the Orders in Council, a great blessing for us will grow. I have not formerly been an advocate of great manufactories.

I doubted whether our labor, employed in agriculture, and aided by the spontaneous energies of the earth would not procure us more than we could make ourselves of other necessaries. But other considerations entering into the question have settled my doubts."

With the beginning of 1814, Jefferson first broached the subject which for many years had lain nearest his heart. To Dr. Thomas Cooper, then serving as Professor of Science in the University of South Carolina, he wrote: "I have long had under contemplation and been collecting materials for the plan of a university in Virginia which should comprehend all the sciences useful to us, and none others. The general idea is suggested in the Notes on Virginia (query 14). This would probably absorb the functions of William and Mary College and transfer them to a healthier and more central position, perhaps to the neighborhood of this place. The long and lingering decline of William and Mary, the death of its last President, its location and climate, force on us the wish for a new institution more convenient to our country generally, and better adapted to the present state of science. I have been told that there will be an effort in the present session of our legislature to effect such an establishment. I confess, however, that I have not great confidence this will be done." After the lapse of half a year he again wrote to Dr. Cooper, asking what branches of study might justly be regarded as most essential, and how the greatest number of studies could be assigned to each professor, consistently with the proper attention to each. Jefferson's interest had now a definite aim. The legislature had finally authorized the President and Directors of the Literary Fund to look into the establishment of a new educational institution, and Jefferson had been requested to prepare for this Board an address which should embody his best thought upon the matter.

Simultaneously with this interest in the progress of his native State, the course of events drew his attention to national affairs. When the news reached Jefferson that the city of Washington had been burned by the British in August, it aroused in him an indignation which he had not felt since the British outrages

of his own last administration. Among the properties destroyed had been the Library of Congress, a valuable and extensive collection of volumes. Jefferson lost no time in offering his own library to Congress at its own price. It was a magnificent collection, consisting of between nine and ten thousand volumes. Jefferson wrote to Samuel H. Smith, who had been a member of his Cabinet and was now a representative from Maryland, and asked him to lay his proposition before Congress. "You know my collection, its condition and extent. I have been fifty years making it, and have spared no pains, opportunity or expense to make it what it is. * * * It is long since I have been sensible it ought not to continue private property, and had provided that at my death Congress should have the refusal of it at their own price. But the loss they have now incurred makes the present the proper moment for their accommodation, without regard to the small remnant of time and the barren use of my enjoying it. * * * Congress may enter into immediate use of it, as eighteen or twenty wagons would place it in Washington in a single trip of a fortnight. I should be willing, indeed, to retain a few of the books to amuse the time I have yet to pass, which might be valued with the rest, but not included in the sum of valuation until they should be restored at my death, which I would carefully provide for, so that the whole library as it stands in the catalogue at this moment should be theirs without any garbling." The matter provoked an unpleasant debate in the House. It stirred up the old dislike for Jefferson on the part of some members, and intimations were not wanting that Jefferson had a personal advantage to serve. A bill was, however, carried through by an overwhelming vote, thanking Jefferson for his offer, and paying him the sum of $23,950. This was far below the original cost, and the assaults upon Jefferson were unworthy of their authors.

The year 1815 was spent by Jefferson in the usual routine of his domestic pursuits. During the early part of it he was constantly employed upon the cataloguing and shipment of the library. He himself sums up the uniform tenor of his life at this period. "I retain good health, am rather too weak to walk

much, but ride with ease, passing two or three hours a day on horseback, and every three or four months taking in a carriage a journey of ninety miles to a distant possession, where I pass a good deal of my time. My eyes need the aid of glasses by night, and with small print in the day also. My hearing is not quite so sensitive as it used to be, no tooth shaking yet, but shivering and shrinking in body from the cold we now experience, my thermometer having been as low as twelve degrees this morning. My greatest oppression is a correspondence afflictingly laborious. * * * Could I reduce this epistolary *corvée* within the limits of my friends and affairs, and give the time redeemed from it to reading and reflection, to history, ethics, mathematics, my life would be as happy as the infirmities of age would admit, and I could look on its consummation with the composure of one *qui summum metuit diem nec optat.*"

This self-imposed task of writing an appropriate answer to each letter that reached him became more and more intolerable. He found scant time for the few correspondents for whom he really cared. Even Adams' letters went for months unanswered. Finally at the end of 1816 a heart-felt cry for relief was wrung from him. He wrote to Adams: "Delaplaine lately requested me to give him a line on the subject of his book; meaning, as I well knew, to publish it. This I constantly refuse; but in this instance yielded that, in saying a word for him I might say two for myself. I expressed in it freely my sufferings from this source, hoping it would have the effect of an indirect appeal to the indiscretion of those, strangers and others, who, in the most friendly disposition, oppress me with their concerns, their pursuits, their projects, inventions and speculations, political, moral, religious, mechanical, mathematical, historical, etc., etc., etc. I hope this appeal will bring me relief." His friends seem to have taken the hint, for his correspondence from this date shows a decided falling off, though, indeed, implicit reliance is not to be placed in the proportion of the published letters.

It was in 1817 that the goal toward which Jefferson had been striving so long came in view. At the preceding session of the legislature, his ideas on higher education had been embodied

in the establishment of what was called the "Central College," and money had been appropriated for the erection of buildings in Albemarle County. Work had already begun upon them when with the sanction of the legislature the scope and title of the institution were changed. The name of "The University of Virginia" was adopted, and all that had been done upon the Central College was embodied in the new scheme. The first Board of Visitors had Jefferson at their head, under the title of Rector, and their first meeting was held in May, 1817. Henceforward the history of the founding of the University of Virginia is virtually the history of Jefferson's private life and labors.

The progress of the work upon the university was beginning to realize Jefferson's hopes; but obstacles now arose in comparison with which all former ones seemed trifling. The colleges already existing in Virginia strenuously opposed granting special favors to so dangerous a rival as Jefferson's institution would surely be. The university had also to suffer the attacks of the clergy and the orthodox element of the State. These assailed especially the appointment of Dr. Cooper to the chair of chemistry. He was known to be a man of very liberal views touching religious and denominational questions, and the charge was freely made that he was a Unitarian, if, indeed, a believer at all in the Christian faith. Jefferson's fellow members on the Board of Visitors saw that to retain Dr. Cooper would imperil the future of the university, and the matter was laid unreservedly before Dr. Cooper himself. With a promptness and good humor which does him honor, he resigned and thus one difficulty was removed. Jefferson himself was much chagrined, for he had set his heart upon having in the State, and especially as a neighbor, a man of Dr. Cooper's talents and scholarship.

The prospect, however, was not yet clear on the financial side. The amount which was necessary for the adequate starting and support of the university was still unappropriated, and Jefferson had many dark moments of uncertainty about it. He spared no arguments to impress upon the leaders of his State how urgent was the need of improvement in all that pertained

to education. To Joseph C. Cabell, one of his co-workers, he wrote at the close of 1820 a letter which shows, as does hardly any other, his clearness of vision. He had none of that wilful blindness to local conditions of which public men are so often guilty.

"Surely," he wrote, "the pride as well as the patriotism of our legislature will be stimulated to look to the reputation and safety of their own country, to rescue it from the degradation of becoming the Barbary of the Union and of falling into the ranks of our own negroes. To that condition it is fast sinking. We shall be in the hands of the other States, what our indigenous predecessors were when invaded by the science and arts of Europe. The mass of education in Virginia, before the revolution, placed her with the foremost of her sister colonies. What is her education now? Where is it? The little we have we import like beggars from other States; or import their beggars to bestow on us their miserable crumbs. And what is wanting to restore us to our station among our competitors? Not more money from the people. Enough has been raised by them, and appropriated to this very object. It is that it should be employed understandingly, and for their greatest good."

In the attitude of the next legislature toward the university lay a bitter disappointment for Jefferson. In members from whom he had expected co-operation he met indifference, doubt, even hostility. Early in 1821 he again wrote Cabell, this time in great dejection, but with no weakening as to the extreme importance of his position. "I am filled with gloom as to the disposition of our legislature toward the university. I perceive that I am not to live to see it open. * * * My individual opinion is, that we had better not open the institution until the buildings, library and all are finished, and our funds cleared of incumbrance. * * * If we were to begin sooner, with half funds only, it would satisfy the common mind, prevent their aid beyond that point, and our institution remaining at that forever would be no more than the paltry academies we now have. Even with the whole funds we shall be reduced to six professors, while Harvard will still prime it over us with her twenty

professors. How many of our youths she now has, learning the lessons of anti-Missourian-ism, I know not; but a gentleman lately from Princeton told me he saw there the list of the students at that place, and that more than half were Virginians. These will return home, no doubt, deeply impressed with the sacred principles of our Holy Alliance of restrictionists. But the gloomiest of all prospects is in the desertion of the best friends of the institution—for desertion I must call it."

Late in the year 1823 the Board of Visitors decided to wait no longer for favorable action by the legislature, but began to look around for proper men to fill the chairs of the new institution. The Board was unanimous in its conviction that the best men were to be found abroad, and a special agent was sent to Oxford, Cambridge and Edinburgh, a policy which provoked much adverse criticism in certain quarters. During the next few months most of the Faculty were selected and the opening date was set for March, 1825. Some of the Faculty were delayed in crossing the Atlantic, a circumstance which caused Jefferson much uneasiness both for their safety and for the delay occasioned to the beginning of work. By June there were in attendance upon lectures nearly a hundred students. The pride and satisfaction with which Jefferson thus saw the fruition of his hopes can hardly be expressed. His interest in everything touching the institution was absorbing. He cultivated the personal acquaintance and friendship of each member of the Faculty, and his counsel was ready on any question which arose. With his high ideals of conduct, he could not bring himself to palliate mischief or disorderly conduct among those whom he considered assembled for the most sacred pursuit of life. He advocated the employment of summary measures against the first boyish offenders upon whose cases his advice had been requested—probably the sole instance of severity recorded of him.

Toward the close of this year, Jefferson's pecuniary troubles assumed a form which could be no longer ignored or concealed. They were due to no sudden reverse of fortune, but their causes are to be traced backward through many years. It is significant

of the man's character that a correspondence so voluminous as was his and so confidential, should, with the single exception of the letter already noticed, have made no allusions to a subject so important and so calculated to absorb one's thoughts. Though Jefferson had started life with a good inheritance, and had by skilful management throughout his young manhood materially increased it, a certain fatality seemed afterwards to follow his property. On the dower which his wife brought him, there rested a British debt of one-third its value. This debt he paid twice, having turned it over to the State in accordance with a statute, and yet refusing to allow it to be paid in depreciated State scrip. This required the sale of a portion of his estate, which went at a heavy sacrifice. After the Revolutionary war, he was in public service continuously from 1784 to 1809, with the exception of three years. From none of the offices he held, save that of Vice-President, was he able to meet his expenses, but he was forced to draw largely upon his own private fortune. Nor was he guilty of extravagance during this period. A retrenchment of expenses may, it is true, have been possible on certain points; but he regarded the demands of hospitality and a fitting style of life as expected of him. Serious as were these drains upon his property, it was at the time of his retirement from the Presidency, sufficient to have kept him in more than comfort for the rest of his life. He appreciated, however, that to this end there was need of careful management, especially as he found his estates in much the same condition as on his retirement from Washington's Cabinet. But a style of living was now forced upon him which, as the years went by, more and more effectually did away with his hope that he might again set his affairs upon a firm footing. He was subjected to the demands of the most extensive and miscellaneous hospitality that our nation has ever seen. No estate of his day could have stood such a drain upon it. To this were added the disastrous financial results of the war of 1812; and in 1819 Jefferson was called upon to pay an endorsement of twenty thousand dollars for an intimate friend. This left him a ruined man. He had no complaints to utter, either against fortune, or against any indi-

vidual who had contributed to his losses, or against himself. His former enemies lost much of their old feelings toward him in admiration of his unmurmuring acceptance of a fate which, without fault of his own, thus came to overshadow the close of his career. A sale of his property at that time would have been the merest sacrifice; and he refused unconditionally to accept a loan or gift from the State treasury, as was suggested by his friends. Early in 1826, he petitioned the legislature to allow him to dispose of his personal effects by lottery, a means, as he wrote Madison, "often resorted to before the Revolution to effect large sales, and still in constant usage in every State for individual as well as corporation purposes. If it is permitted in my case, my land here alone, with the mills, etc., will pay everything, and leave me Monticello and a farm free. If refused, I must sell everything here, perhaps considerable in Bedford, move thither with my family, where I have not even a log hut to put my head into, and whether ground for burial, will depend upon the depredations, which, under the form of sales, shall have been committed upon my property." He also drew up for submission to the legislature a paper called "Thoughts on Lotteries," his last document of a public nature. In it he took the ground that there was nothing immoral in a lottery scheme of itself, for every pursuit might in a certain sense be said to be a lottery; and he cited numerous instances of its employment in Virginia for various public enterprises, for private societies and individuals, and even for religious congregations. The threatened opposition died out, and the bill to authorize his request was passed without trouble. But it was not carried into effect during Jefferson's lifetime. Other States through their large cities came forward and fulfilled the duty which Virginia neglected. Sums were raised by popular subscription, and promptly forwarded to him. He had no hesitation in receiving these, and he did so with a feeling of mingled gratitude and pride that his public services were thus remembered. As it was, when the lottery was held it failed to realize the half of the sum hoped for; and his lands put up for sale fell far short of their original cost. It was a blessing that Jeffer-

son had not lived to see this, or the loss of his home and estate to his daughter's family.

Through the spring of 1826, Jefferson's health failed rapidly. He still took his daily ride on horseback, refusing to be accompanied by a servant; but before the summer he had grown too weak to move from his chair and couch. His mind, however, retained its power and clearness throughout. He read much in the Bible and in the Greek tragedians and wrote several letters of some length, the last being dated June 24th. It was an acknowledgment of an invitation to be present in Washington City at the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of American Independence.

From the middle of June, the strength still left in his once powerful frame rapidly declined, and he quietly breathed his last shortly after mid-day of July 4th, a few hours after his old colleague, opponent, and devoted friend, John Adams, had passed away. Jefferson was laid to rest by the side of the wife whom he had so fondly loved, and within sight of the stately buildings to which the thought and activity of his last years had been devoted. On his simple tombstone is the inscription:

Here was buried
THOMAS JEFFERSON
author of the
Declaration
of
American Independence
of the
Statute of Virginia
for
Religious Freedom
And Father of the
University of Virginia.

Born April 2, 1743, O. S.
Died July 4, 1826.

THE WRITINGS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON,

CONSISTING OF HIS PRINCIPAL STATE PAPERS, AND EXTRACTS FROM HIS OFFICIAL AND PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE.

EXPLANATION OF REFERENCES:

F—Ford's Writings of Jefferson.
C—Congressional Edition of Jefferson's Works.
R—Randall's Life of Thomas Jefferson.

ACADEMY, A NATIONAL.—I have often wished we could have a philosophical society or academy so organized as that while the central academy should be at the seat of government, its members dispersed over the State should constitute filiated academies in each State, and publish their communications, from which the central academy should select what should be most choice. In this way all the members wheresoever dispersed might be brought into action, and an useful emulation might arise between the filiated societies. Perhaps the great societies now existing might incorporate themselves in this way with the National one. (To Joel Barlow, 1805, F. VIII., 425.)

ADAMS, JOHN.—His [John Adams'] vanity is a lineament in his character which has entirely escaped me. His want of taste I had observed. Notwithstanding all this, he has a sound head on substantial points, and I think he has integrity. I am glad, therefore, he is of the commission for negotiating peace and expect he will be useful in it. His dislike of all parties, and all men, by balancing his prejudices, may give them some fair play to his reason as would a general benevolence of temper. At any rate honesty may be extracted from poisonous weeds. (To James Madison, 1783. F. III., 310.)

ADAMS, JOHN.—I am afraid the indiscretion of a printer has committed me with my friend Mr. Adams, for whom as one of the most honest and disinterested men alive I have a cordial esteem, increased by long habits of concurrence in opinion in

the days of his Republicanism; and ever since his apostasy to hereditary monarchy and nobility, though we differ, we differ as friends should do. (To Washington, 1791, F. V., 329.)

ADAMS, JOHN.—That your administration may be filled with glory and happiness to yourself and advantage to us is the sincere wish of one, who, though in the course of our own voyage through life various little incidents have happened or been contrived to separate us, retains still for you the solid esteem of the moments when we were working for our independence, and sentiments of respect and affectionate attachment. (To John Adams, 1797. F. VII., 98.)

ADAMS, SAMUEL.—A letter from you, my respectable friend, after three and twenty years of separation, has given me a pleasure I cannot express. It recalls to my mind the anxious days we then passed in struggling for mankind. Your principles have been tested in the crucible of time and have come out pure. You have proved that it was monarchy, and not merely British monarchy, you opposed. A government by representation, elected by the people at short periods, was our object; and our maxim at that day was "where annual election ends, tyranny begins;" nor have our departures from it been sanctioned by the happiness of their effect. (To Samuel Adams, 1800. F. VII., 425.)

ADAMS, SAMUEL.—In meditating the matter of that address [the first inaugural] I often asked myself is this exactly in the spirit of the patriarch of liberty, Samuel Adams? Is it as he would express it? Will he approve of it? I have felt a great deal for our country in the times we have seen. But individually for no one as for yourself. When I have been told that you were avoided, insulted, frowned on, I could but ejaculate, 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.' I confess I felt an indignation for you which for myself I have been able under every trial to keep entirely passive. However, the storm is over, and we are in port. (To Samuel Adams, 1801. F. VIII., 38.)

ADAMS, SAMUEL.—I can say he was a truly great man, wise in council, fertile in resources, immovable in his purposes, and

had, I think, a greater share than any other member in advising and directing our measures in the northern war especially. As a speaker he could not be compared with his living colleague and namesake whose deep conceptions, nervous style, and undaunted firmness made him truly our bulwark in debate. But Mr. Samuel Adams, although not of fluent elocution, was so rigorously logical, so clear in his views, abundant in good sense, and master always of his subject that he commanded the most profound attention whenever he arose in an assembly by which the froth of declaration was heard with the most sovereign contempt. (To S. A. Wells, 1819. C. VII., 126.)

Affliction.—Deeply practiced in the school of affliction, the human heart knows no joy which I have not lost, no sorrow of which I have not drunk! Fortune can present no grief of unknown form to me. Who then can so softly bind up the wound of another as he who has felt the same wound himself. (To Mrs. Maria Cosway. Written in Paris, 1786. F. IV., 316.)

Agriculture.—To remove as much as possible the occasions of making war, it might be better for us to abandon the ocean altogether, that being the element whereon we shall be principally exposed to jostle with other nations; to leave to others to bring what we shall want, and to carry what we can spare. This would make us invulnerable to Europe, by offering none of our property to their prize, and would turn all our citizens to the cultivation of the earth; and I repeat it again, cultivators of the earth are the most virtuous and independent citizens. (From "Notes on Virginia," 1782. F. III., 279.)

Agriculture.—We have an immensity of land courting the industry of the husbandman. Is it best then that all our citizens should be employed in its improvement, or that one-half should be called off from that to exercise manufactures and handicraft arts for the other? Those who labor in the earth are the chosen people of God, if he ever had a chosen people, whose breasts he has made his peculiar deposit for substantial and genuine virtue. It is the focus in which he keeps alive that sacred fire, which otherwise might escape from the earth. Corruption of morals in the mass of cultivators is a phenomenon of which no

age or nation has furnished an example. It is the mark set on those, who not looking up to Heaven, to their own soil and industry, as does the husbandman, for their subsistence, depend for it on casualties and caprice of customers. Dependence begets subservience and venality suffocates the germs of virtue, and prepares fit tools for the designs of ambition. This, the natural progress and consequence of the arts, has sometimes perhaps been retarded by accidental circumstances; but generally speaking, the proportion which the aggregate of the other classes of citizens bears in any State to that of its husbandman, is the proportion of its unsound to its healthy parts, and is a good enough barometer whereby to measure its degree of corruption. (From Notes on Virginia, 1782. F. III., 269.)

AGRICULTURE.—I think our government will remain virtuous for many centuries, as long as they are chiefly agricultural; and this will be as long as there shall be vacant lands in any part of America. When they get piled upon one another in large cities, as in Europe, they will become corrupt as in Europe. (To James Madison, 1785. F. IV., 479.)

AGRICULTURE.—Were I to indulge my own theory, I should wish our States to practice neither commerce nor navigation, but to stand with respect to Europe precisely on the footing of China. We would thus avoid wars, and all our citizens would be husbandmen. But this is theory only, and a theory which the servants of America are not at liberty to follow. Our people have a decided taste for navigation and commerce. They take this from their mother country; and their servants are in duty bound to calculate all their measures on this datum; we wish to do it by throwing open all the doors of commerce and knocking off its shackles. But as this cannot be done for others, unless they will do it for us, I suppose we shall be obliged to adopt a system which may shackle them in our parts as they do us in theirs. (From a letter written from Paris to Hogendorp, 1785. F. IV., 105.)

AGRICULTURE.—Cultivators of the earth are the most valuable citizens. They are the most vigorous, the most independent, the most virtuous, and they are tied to their country and wedded

to its liberty and interest by the most lasting bonds. As long, therefore, as they can find employment in this line, I would not convert them into mariners, artisans or anything else. But our citizens will find employment in this line till their numbers and, of course, their productions, become too great for the demand both internal and foreign. This is not the case as yet, and probably will not be for a considerable time. As soon as it is, the surplus of hands must be turned to something else. I should then perhaps wish to turn them to the sea in preference to manufactures, because comparing the characters of the two classes, I find the former the most valuable citizens. I consider the class of artificers as the founders of vice, and the instruments by which the liberties of a country are generally overturned. (To John Jay, 1785. F. IV., 88.)

AGRICULTURE.—A prosperity built on the basis of agriculture is that which is most desirable to us, because to the effects of labor it adds the effects of a greater portion of the soil. (To C. W. F. Dumas, 1792. F. VI., 70.)

AGRICULTURE.—See Farming.

ALIEN AND SEDITION LAWS.—I consider the Alien and Sedition laws as merely an experiment of the American mind to see how far it will bear an avowed violation of the Constitution. If this goes down we shall immediately see attempted another act of Congress declaring that the President shall continue in office during life, reserving to another occasion the transfer of the succession to his heirs, and the establishment of the Senate for life. At least this may be the aim of the Oliverians, while Monk and the Cavaliers (who are perhaps the strongest) may be playing their game for the restoration of his gracious majesty George the Third. That these things are in contemplation, I have no doubt; nor can I be confident of their failure, after the dupery of which our countrymen have shewn themselves susceptible. (To S. T. Mason, 1798. F. VII., 283.)

ALIEN AND SEDITION LAWS.—The Alien bill is reported again very much softened, and if the proviso can be added to its saving treaties, it will be less objectionable than I thought it possible to have obtained. * * * They have brought into the

Lower House a Sedition bill which among other enormities undertakes to make printing certain matters criminal, though one of the amendments to the Constitution has so expressly taken religion, printing presses, etc., out of their coercion. Indeed this bill and the Alien bill both are so palpably in the teeth of the Constitution as to show they mean to pay no respect to it. (To James Madison, 1798. F. VII., 266.)

ALIEN AND SEDITION LAWS.—See Kentucky Resolutions.

ALLIANCES.—I sincerely join you in abjuring all political connection with every foreign power; and though I cordially wish well to the progress of liberty in all nations, and would forever give it the weight of our countenance, yet they are not to be touched without contamination from their other bad principles. Commerce with all nations, alliance with none, should be our motto. (To Thomas Lomax, 1799. F. VII., 374.)

AMBASSADORS.—After mature consideration and consultation, I am of the opinion that the Constitution has made the President the sole competent judge to what places circumstances render it expedient that Ambassadors or other public ministers should be sent and of what grade they should be; and that it has ascribed to the Senate no executive act but the single one of giving or withholding their consent to the person nominated. (From a draft of the President's Message on diplomatic nominations, 1792. F. V., 415.)

AMENDMENTS.—None of the fundamental laws and principles of government shall be repealed or altered but by the personal consent of the people on summons to meet in their respective counties on one and the same day by an act of the legislature to be passed for every special occasion; and if in such county meetings the people of two-thirds of the counties shall give their suffrage for any particular alteration or repeal referred to them by the said act, the same shall be accordingly repealed or altered, and such repeal or alteration shall take its place among the fundamentals and stand on the same footing with them, in lieu of the article repealed or altered. (From a proposed Constitution for Virginia, 1776. F. II., 29.)

AMENDMENTS.—The real friends of the Constitution in its

federal form, if they wish it to be immortal, should be attentive, by amendments, to make it keep pace with the advance of the age in science and experience. (To R. J. Garnet, 1824. C. VII., 336.)

ANARCHY.—The British ministry have so long hired their gazetteers to repeat and model into every form lies about our being in anarchy, that the world has at length believed them, the ministers themselves have come to believe them, and what is more wonderful we have believed them ourselves. Yet where does the anarchy exist? When did it ever exist except in the single instance of Massachusetts? [Referring to Shay's Rebellion.] (To Stephens Smith, written from Paris, 1787. F. IV., 466.)

ANIMALS.—The truth is, that a Pigmy and a Patagonian, a Mouse and a Mammoth, derive their dimensions from the same nutritive juices. The difference of increment depends upon circumstances unsearchable to beings with our capacities. Every race of animals seem to have received from their Maker certain laws of extension at the time of their formation. * * * Below these limits they cannot fall, nor rise above them. What intermediate station they shall take may depend on soil, on climate, on a careful choice of breeders. But all the manna of Heaven would never raise the Mouse to the bulk of the Mammoth. (From "Notes on Virginia," 1782. F. III., 135.)

THE APOCALYPSE.—No man on earth has less taste or talent for criticism than myself, and least and last of all should I undertake to criticise works on the Apocalypse. It is between fifty and sixty years since I read it and then I considered it as merely the ravings of a maniac, no more worthy, nor capable of explanation than the incoherence of our own nightly dreams. I was, therefore, well pleased to see, in your first proof sheet, that it was said to be not the production of St. John, but of Cerinthus a century after the death of that apostle. Yet the change of the author's name does not lessen the extravagancies of the composition; come they from whomsoever they may, I cannot so far respect them as to consider them as an allegorical narration of events, past or subsequent. There is not coherence enough

in them to countenance any suite of national ideas. You will judge, therefore, from this how impossible I think it that either your explanation or that of any man in "the Heavens above or on the earth beneath" can be a correct one. What has no meaning admits no explanation! (To Gen. Alexander Smith, 1825. C. VII., 395.)

Approbation.—In a virtuous and free State no rewards can be so pleasing to sensible minds, as those which include the approbation of our fellow-citizens. My great pain is, lest my poor endeavor should fall short of the kind expectations of my country. So far as impartiality, assiduous attention, and sincere affection to the great American cause, shall enable me to fulfill the duties of my appointment, so far I may with confidence undertake. (From a speech to the General Assembly, made upon assuming the duties of governor of Virginia, 1779. F. II., 187.)

Aristocracy.—If anybody thinks that kings, nobles, or priests are good conservators of the public happiness send them here. It is the best school in the universe to cure them of their folly. They will see here with their own eyes that their descriptions of men are an abandoned confederacy against the happiness of the mass of people. The omnipotence of their effect cannot be better proved than in this country particularly, where notwithstanding the finest soil upon earth, the finest climate under heaven, and a people of the most benevolent, the most gay and amiable character of which the human form is susceptible, where such a people I say, surrounded by so many blessings from nature, are yet loaded with misery by kings, nobles and priests, and by them alone. (Written from Paris to George Wythe, 1786. F. IV., 269.)

Aristocracy.—I agree with you that there is a natural aristocracy among men. The grounds of this are virtue and talents. Formerly, bodily powers gave place among the *aristoi*. But since the invention of gunpowder has armed the weak as well as the strong with missile death, bodily strength, like beauty, good humor, politeness and other accomplishments, has become but an auxiliary ground of distinction. There is also

an artificial aristocracy founded on wealth and birth, without either virtue or talents; for with these it would belong to the first class. The natural aristocracy I consider as the most precious gift of nature, for the instruction, the trusts, and government of society. And, indeed, it would have been inconsistent in creation to have formed man for the social state, and not to have provided virtue and wisdom enough to manage the concerns of the society. May we not even say that that form of government is best, which provides the most effectually for a pure selection of these natural *aristoi* into the offices of government? The artificial aristocracy is a mischievous ingredient in government, and provision should be made to prevent its ascendency. On the question what is the best provision, you and I differ; but we differ as rational friends, using the free exercise of our own reason and mutually indulging its errors. You think it best to put the pseudo-*aristoi* into a separate chamber of legislature, where they may be hindered from doing mischief by their co-ordinate branches, and where, also, they may be a protection to wealth against the Agrarian and plundering enterprises of the majority of the people. I think that to give them power in order to prevent them from doing mischief, is arming them for it, and increasing instead of remedying the evil. For if the co-ordinate branches can arrest their action, so may they that of the co-ordinates. Mischief may be done negatively as well as positively. Of this a cabal in the Senate of the United States has furnished many proofs. Nor do I believe them necessary to protect the wealthy; because enough of these will find their way into every branch of the legislature to protect themselves. From fifteen to twenty legislatures of our own, in action for thirty years past, have proved that no fears of an equalization of property are to be apprehended from them. I think the best remedy is that provided by all our constitutions, to leave to the citizens the free election and separation of the *aristoi* from the pseudo-*aristoi,* of the wheat from the chaff. In general they will elect the really good and wise. In some instances wealth may corrupt,

and birth blind them; but not in sufficient degree to endanger society. (To John Adams, 1813. C. VI., 224.)

ARMS.—One farther favor and I am done; to search the Herald's office for the arms of my family. I have what I have been told were the family arms, but on what authority I know not. It is possible there may be none. If so, I would with your assistance become a purchaser, having Sterne's word for it that a coat of arms may be purchased as cheap as any other coat. (From a letter written to Thomas Adams, a merchant of London, 1770. F. I., 389.)

ARMY.—No freeman shall be debarred the use of arms within his own lands. There shall be no standing army but in time of actual war. (From a proposed Constitution for Virginia, 1776. F. II., 27.)

ASSUMPTION.—It was a real fact that the Eastern and Southern members (South Carolina, however, was with the former) had got into the most extreme ill humor with one another. This broke out on every question with the most alarming heat, the bitterest animosities seemed to be engendered, and though they met every day, little or nothing could be done from mutual distrust and antipathy. On considering the situation of things I thought the first step toward some conciliation of views would be to bring Mr. Madison and Colonel Hamilton to a friendly discussion of the subject. I immediately wrote to each to come and dine with me the next day, mentioning that we should be alone, that the object was to find some temperament for the present fever, and that I was persuaded that men of sound heads and honest views needed nothing more than explanation and mutual understanding to enable them to unite in some measures which might enable us to get along. They came, I opened the subject to them, acknowledged that my situation had not permitted me to understand it sufficiently but encouraged them to consider the thing together. They did so; it ended in Mr. Madison's acquiescence in a proposition that the question should again be brought before the House by way of amendment from the Senate, that though he would not vote for it, nor entirely withdraw his opposition, yet he

would not be strenuous, but leave it to its fate. It was observed, I forgot by which of them, that as the pill would be a bitter one to the Southern States, something should be done to soothe them, that the removal of the seat of government to the Potomac was a just measure and would probably be a popular one with them, and would be a proper one to follow the assumption. It was agreed to speak to Mr. White and Mr. Lee whose districts lay on the Potomac and to refer to them to consider how far the interests of their particular districts might be a sufficient inducement in them to yield to the assumption. This was done. Lee came to it without hesitation; Mr. White had qualms, but finally agreed. The measure came down by way of amendment from the Senate and was finally carried by the change of White's and Lee's votes. But the removal to the Potomac could not be carried unless Pennsylvania could be engaged in it. This Hamilton took on himself, and, chiefly, as I understood, through the agency of Robert Morris, obtained a vote of that State, on agreeing to an intermediate residence in Philadelphia. This is the history of the assumption, about which many erroneous conjectures have been published. It was unjust in itself, oppressive to the States, and was acquiesced in merely from a fear of discession. While our government was still in its most infant state, it enabled Hamilton so to strengthen himself by corrupt services to many that he could afterward carry his bank scheme, and every measure he proposed in defiance of all opposition; in fact, it was a principal ground whereon was reared up that speculating phalanx in and out of Congress which has since been able to give laws to change the political complexion of the government of the United States. (From an undated manuscript, probably written in 1793. F. VI., 173.)

Atheism.—As to the calumny of Atheism, I am so broken to calumnies of every kind, from every department of government, Executive, Legislative, and Judiciary, and from every mission of theirs holding office or seeking it, that I entirely disregard it. * * * It has been so impossible to contradict all their lies, that I am determined to contradict none; for while I should

be engaged with one, they would publish twenty new ones. (To James Monroe, 1800. F. VII., 448.)

BANKS.—But it will be asked are we to have no banks? Are merchants and others to be deprived of the resource of short accommodations found so convenient? I answer, let us have banks; but let them be such as are alone to be found in any country on earth except Great Britain. There is not a bank of discount on the continent of Europe (at least there was not one when I was there) which offers anything but cash in exchange for discounted bills. No one has a natural right to the trade of a money lender but he who has the money to lend. Let those then among us, who have a moneyed capital, and who prefer employing it in bonds rather than otherwise, set up banks, and give cash or national bills for the notes they discount. Perhaps, to encourage them, a larger interest than is legal in the other cases might be allowed them on the condition of their lending for short periods only. It is from Great Britain we copy the idea of giving paper in exchange for discounted bills; and, while we have derived from that country some good principles of government and legislation, we unfortunately run into the most servile imitation of all her practices, ruinous as they prove to her, and with the gulf yawning before us into which these very practices are precipitating her. The unlimited emission of bank paper has banished all her specie, and is now, by a depreciation acknowledged by her own statesmen, carrying her rapidly to bankruptcy as it did France, as it did us, and will do us again, and every country permitting paper to be circulated other than that by public authority rigorously limited to the just measure of circulation. (To J. W. Eppes, 1813. C. VI., 141.)

BANKS.—They have passed a bill for establishing a bank to which it is objected that they have transcended their powers. There are certainly persons in all the departments who are for driving too fast. Government, being founded on opinion, the opinion of the public, even when it is wrong, ought to be respected to a certain degree. The prudence of the President

is an anchor of safety to us. (To Nicholas Lewis, 1791. F. V., 282.)

BANK, NATIONAL.—The incorporation of a bank, and the power assumed by this bill, have not, in my opinion, been delegated to the United States by the Constitution. They are not among the powers specially enumerated; for these are: 1st. A power to lay taxes for the purpose of paying the debts of the United States; but no debt is payed by this bill, nor any tax laid. 2d. "To borrow money." But this bill neither borrows money nor ensures the borrowing it. * * * 3d. "To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the States, and with the Indian tribes." To erect a bank and regulate commerce are very different acts. He who erects a bank creates a subject of commerce in its bills; so does he who makes a bushel of wheat, or digs a dollar out of the mines; yet neither of these persons regulates commerce thereby. To make a thing which may be bought and sold, is not to prescribe the regulations for buying and selling. * * * Still less are these powers covered by any other of the special regulations. Nor are they within either of the general phrases, which are the two following: 1. To lay taxes to provide for the general welfare of the United States, that is to say, "to lay taxes for the purpose of providing for the general welfare." For the laying of taxes is the power, and the general welfare the purpose for which the power is to be exercised. They are not to lay taxes *ad libitum* for any purpose they please; but only to pay the debts or provide for the welfare of the Union. In like manner, they are not to do anything they please to provide for the general welfare, but only to lay taxes for that purpose. To consider the latter phrase, not as describing the purpose of the first, but as giving a distinct and independent power to do any act they please which might be for the good of the Union would render all the preceding and subsequent enumerations of power completely useless. It would reduce the whole instrument to a single phrase, that of instituting a Congress with power to do whatever would be for the good of the United States; and, as they would be the sole judge of the good or evil, it would be also a power to do what-

ever evil they please. 2. The second general phrase is, "to make all laws necessary and proper for carrying into execution the enumerated powers." But they can all be carried into execution without a bank. A bank, therefore, is not necessary and consequently not authorized by this phrase. * * * It may be said that a bank whose bills would have a currency all over the States, would be more convenient than one whose currency is limited to a single State. So it would be still more convenient that there should be a bank whose bills should have a currency all over the world. But it does not follow from this superior conveniency, that there exists anywhere a power to establish such a bank; or that the world may not go on very well without it. * * * The negative of the President is the shield provided by the Constitution to protect against the invasions of the legislature: 1. The right of the Executive. 2. Of the Judiciary. 3. Of the States, and State legislatures. The present is a case of a right remaining exclusively with the States, and consequently one of those intended by the Constitution to be placed under its protection. (From an opinion submitted to Washington, 1791. F. V., 285-289.)

BANK, NATIONAL.—You will see that we are completely saddled and bridled and that the bank is so firmly mounted on us that we must go where they will guide. They openly publish a resolution that the national property, being increased in value, they must, by an increase of a circulating medium, furnish an adequate representation of it and by further additions of active capital promote the enterprises of our merchants. (To James Monroe, 1793. F. VII., 80.)

BANKS, NATIONAL.—This institution is one of the most deadly hostilities existing against the principles and form of our Constitution. The nation is at this time so strong and united in its sentiments, that it cannot be shaken at this moment. But suppose a series of untoward events should occur, sufficient to bring into doubt the competency of a Republican government to meet a crisis of great danger, or to unhinge the confidence of the people in the public functionaries; an institution like this, penetrating by its branches every part of the Union, acting

by command and in phalanx, may, in a critical moment, upset the government. I deem no government safe which is under the vassalage of any self-constituted authorities, or any other authority than that of the nation, or its regular functionaries. What an obstruction could not this bank of the United States with all its branch banks be in time of war? It might dictate to us the peace we should accept or withdraw its aid. Ought we then to give further growth to an institution so powerful, so hostile? That it is hostile we know, 1, from a knowledge of the principles of the persons composing the body of directors in every bank, principal or branch; and those of most of the stockholders: 2, from their opposition to the measures and principles of the government, and to the election of those friendly to them: and 3, from the sentiments of the newspapers they support. Now, while we are strong, it is the greatest duty we owe to the safety of our Constitution, to bring this powerful enemy to a perfect subordination under its authorities. The first measure would be to reduce them to an equal footing only with other banks, as to the favors of the government. But, in order to be able to meet a general combination of the banks against us, in a critical emergency, could we not make a beginning towards an independent use of our own money, towards holding our own bank in all the deposits where it is received, and letting the treasurer give his draft or note, for payment at any particular place, which, in a well conducted government, ought to have as much credit as any private draft, or bank note, or bill, and would give us the same facilities which we derive from the banks? (To the Secretary of the Treasury, 1803. F. VIII., 284.)

Bimetallism.—I concur with you that the unit must stand on both metals, that the alloy should be the same in both, also in the proportion you establish between the value of the two metals. As to the question on whom the expense of coinage is to fall, I have been so little able to make up an opinion satisfactory to myself as to be ready to concur in either decision. With respect to the dollar, it must be admitted by all the world that there is great uncertainty in the meaning of the term, and

therefore all the world will have justified Congress for their first act of removing the uncertainty by declaring what they understood by the term; but the uncertainty once removed exists no longer, and I very much doubt a right to change the value, and especially to lessen it. It would lead to so easy a mode of paying off the debts, besides the points injured by the reduction of the value would have so much matter to urge in support of the first point of fixation. Should it be thought, however, that Congress may reduce the value of the dollar, I should be for adopting for our unit, instead of the dollar, either one ounce of pure silver, or one ounce of standard silver, so as to keep the unit of money a part of the system of measures, weights and coins. (To Alexander Hamilton, 1792. C. III., 330.)

Bimetallism.—See Money.

Bishops.—A modern bishop to be moulded into a primitive one must be elected by the people, undiocesed, unrevenued, unlorded. (From Notes on Religion, 1776. F. II., 98.)

Blockade.—Nor does this doctrine contravene the right of preventing vessels from entering a blockaded port. This right stands on other ground. When the fleet of a nation actually beleaguers the port of its enemy, no other has a right to enter their line, any more than their line of battle in the open sea, or their line of circumvallation, or of encampment, or of battle array on land. The space included within their lines in any of those cases is either the property of their enemy, or it is common property assumed and possessed for the moment, which cannot be intruded on, even by a neutral, without committing the very trespass we are now considering, that of intruding into the lawful possession of a friend. (To the United States Minister to France, 1801. F. VIII., 90.)

Bonaparte.—Perhaps it is now to be wished that Bonaparte may be spared, as, according to his protestations, he is for liberty, equality and representative government, and he is more able to keep the nation together and ride out the storm than any other. Perhaps it may end in their establishing a single representative and that in his person. I hope it will not be for

life for fear of the influence of the example on our countrymen. (To John Breckenridge, 1800. F. VII., 418.)

BONAPARTE.—Whenever Bonaparte has meddled we have seen nothing but fragments of the old Roman Government stuck into materials with which they can form no cohesion; we see the bigotry of an Italian to the ancient splendor of his country, but nothing which bespeaks a luminous view of the organization of rational government. (To Thomas Mann Randolph, 1800. F. VII., 422.)

BONAPARTE.—If Bonaparte declares for royalty, either in his own person or of Louis XVIII., he has but a few days to live. In a nation of so much enthusiasm there must be a million of Brutuses who will devote themselves to death to destroy him. But without much faith in Bonaparte's heart I have much in his head. (To Harry Innes, 1800. F. VII., 412.)

BONAPARTE.—I had before heard of the military ingredients which Bonaparte had infused into all the schools of France, but have never so well understood them as from your letter. The penance he is now doing for all his atrocities must be soothing to every virtuous heart. It proves that we have a God in heaven. That He is just and not careless of what passes in the world. And we cannot but wish to this inhuman wretch a long, long life that time as well as intensity may fill up his sufferings to the measure of his enormities. But indeed what suffering can atone for his crimes against the liberties and happiness of the human race, for the miseries he has already inflicted on his own generation and on those yet to come on whom he has riveted the chains of despotism. (To George Tickner, 1817. F. X., 95.)

BOUNTIES.—It is still more settled that among the purposes to which the Constitution permits them to apply money, the granting of premiums or bounties is not enumerated and there has never been a single instance of their doing it although there has been a multiplicity of applications. The Constitution has left this encouragement to the separate States. I have in two or three messages recommended to Congress an amendment to

the Constitution which should extend their power to these objects. (To Dr. Mease, 1809. C. V., 412.)

BRIBERY.—No person shall be capable of acting in any office, civil or military, who shall have given any bribe to obtain such office, or who shall not previously take an oath of fidelity to the State. (From a proposed Constitution for Virginia, 1776. F. II., 29.)

BRITAIN.—Great Britain is the nation which can do us the most harm of any one, or all on earth; and with her on our side we need not fear the whole world. With her, then, we should most sedulously cherish a cordial friendship; and nothing would tend more to knit our affections than to be fighting once more, side by side, in the same cause. Not that I would purchase her amity at the price of taking part in her wars. But the war in which the present proposition might engage us, should that be its consequence, is not her war, but ours. Its object is to introduce and establish the American system, of keeping out of our land all foreign powers, of never permitting those of Europe to intermeddle with the affairs of our nation. It is to maintain our own principle, not to depart from it. And if, to facilitate this, we can effect a division in the body of the European powers, and draw over to our side its most powerful member, surely we should do it. (To James Monroe, 1823. C. VII., 316.)

BUBBLES.—Like a dropsical man calling for water, water, our deluded citizens are clamoring for more banks, more banks. The American mind is now in that state of fever which the world has so often seen in the history of other nations. We are under the bank bubble, as England was under the South Sea bubble, France under the Mississippi bubble, and as every nation is liable to be, under whatever bubble, design, or delusion may puff up in moments when off their guard. We are now taught to believe that legerdemain tricks upon paper can produce as solid wealth as hard labor in the earth. It is vain for common sense to urge that nothing can produce but nothing, that it is an idle dream to believe in a philosopher's stone which is to turn everything into gold, and to redeem man from the original sentence of his Maker, "in the sweat of his brow shall

he eat his bread." (To Colonel Yancey, 1816. C. VI., 515.)

CALUMNY.—If we suffer ourselves to be frightened from our post by mere lying, surely the enemy will use that weapon; for what one so cheap to those of whose system of politics morality makes no part? The patriot, like the Christian, must learn to bear revilings and persecutions as a part of his duty; and in proportion as the trial is severe, firmness under it becomes more requisite and praiseworthy. It requires, indeed, self-command. But that will be fortified in proportion as the calls for its exercise are repeated. (To James Sullivan, 1805. F. VIII., 355.)

CANADA.—I know your feelings on the present state of the world, and hope they will be cheered by the successful course of our war and the addition of Canada to our Confederacy. The infamous intrigues of Great Britain to destroy our government (of which Henry's is but one sample) and with the Indians to tomahawk our women and children, prove that the cession of Canada must be a *sine qua non* at a treaty of peace. (To Kosciusko, 1812. F. IX., 363.)

CANADA.—Could we acquire that country (Canada) we might perhaps insist successfully at St. Petersburg on retaining all westward of the meridian of Lake Huron or Lake Ontario, or of Montreal, according to the ——— of the place as an indemnification for the past and security of the future. To cut them off from the Indians even west of the Huron would be a great security. (Monroe papers, in State Department. Vol. 13, No. 1696.)

CANONS OF CONDUCT.

1. Never put off for to-morrow what you can do to-day.
2. Never trouble another for what you can do yourself.
3. Never spend your money before you have it.
4. Never buy what you do not want, because it is cheap; it will be dear to you.
5. Pride costs us more than hunger, thirst and cold.
6. We never repent of having eaten too little.
7. Nothing is troublesome that we do willingly.
8. How much pain have cost us the evils which have never happened.

9. Take things always by their smooth handle.

10. When angry, count ten, before you speak; if very angry, an hundred. (To Thomas Jefferson Smith, 1825. C. VII., 402.)

CAPTIVES.—But is an enemy so execrable, that though in captivity, his wishes and comforts are to be disregarded and even crossed? I think not. It is for the benefit of mankind to mitigate the horrors of war as much as possible. The practice, therefore, of modern nations, of treating captive enemies with politeness and generosity, is not only delightful in contemplation, but really interesting to all the world, friends, foes and neutrals. (To Patrick Henry, 1779. F. II., 176.)

CHARITY.—We are all doubtless bound to contribute a certain portion of our income to the support of charitable and other useful public institutions. But it is a part of our duty also to apply our contributions in the most effectual way we can to secure this object. The question then is whether this will not be better done by each of us appropriating our whole contribution to the institutions within our reach, under our own eye, and over which we can exercise some useful control? Or would it be better that each should divide the sum he can spare among all the institutions of his State or the United States? Reason and the interest of these institutions themselves, certainly decide in favor of the former practice. (To Samuel Kercheval, 1810. C. V., 489.)

CHRISTIANITY.—I have a view of Christianity which ought to displease neither the rational Christian nor Deists, and would reconcile many to a character they have too hastily rejected. I do not know that it would reconcile the *genus irritabile vatum*. * * * And as every sect believes its own form the true one, every one hopes for his own, but especially the Episcopalians and Congregationalists. The returning good sense of our country threatens abortion to their hopes and they believe that any portion of power confided to me will be exerted in opposition to their schemes. And they believe rightly; for I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man. But this is all they have to

fear from me; and enough, too, in their opinion, and this is the cause of their printing lying pamphlets against me. (To Benjamin Rush, 1800. F. VII., 460.)

CHRISTIANITY.—To the corruptions of Christianity I am indeed opposed; but not to the genuine precepts of Jesus himself. I am a Christian in the only sense he wished any one to be; sincerely attached to His doctrines in preference to all others; ascribing to Himself every human excellence; and believing he never claimed any other. (To Benjamin Rush, 1803. F. VIII., 223.)

CHRISTIANITY.—But a short time elapsed after the death of the Great Reformer of the Jewish religion before His principles were departed from by those who professed to be his special servants, and perverted into an engine for enslaving mankind, and aggrandizing the oppressors in Church and State; that the purest system of morals ever before preached to man has been adulterated and sophisticated by artificial constructions into a mere contrivance to filch wealth and power to themselves; that rational men not being able to swallow their impious heresies, in order to force them down their throats, they raise the hue and cry of infidelity, which themselves are the greatest obstacles to the advancement of the real doctrines of Jesus, and do, in fact, constitute the real Anti-Christ. (To Samuel Kercheval, 1810. C. V., 492.)

CHRISTIANITY.—I have made a wee-little book from the same materials, which I call the Philosophy of Jesus; it is a paradigma of his doctrines, made by cutting the text out of the book, and arranging them on the pages of a blank book, in a certain order of time or subject. A more beautiful or precious morsel of ethics I have never seen; it is a document in proof that I am a real Christian, that is to say, a disciple of the doctrines of Jesus, very different from the Platonists, who call me infidel and themselves Christians and preachers of the gospel, while they draw all their characteristic dogmas from what its author never said nor saw. They have compounded from the heathen mysteries a system beyond the comprehension of man, of which the Great Reformer of the vicious ethics and Deism of the Jews,

were He to return on earth, would not recognize one feature. (To Charles Thompson, 1816. C. VI., 518.)

CHRISTIANITY.—See Jesus, Religion.

CHURCH AND STATE.—Our sister States of Pennsylvania and New York have long subsisted without any establishment at all. The experiment was new and doubtful when they made it. It has answered beyond conception. They flourish infinitely. Religion is well supported; of various kinds indeed, but all good enough; all sufficient to preserve peace and order; or if a sect arises whose tenets would subvert morals, good sense has fair play, and reason laughs it out of doors, without suffering the State to be troubled with it. Their harmony is unparalleled, and can be ascribed to nothing but their unbounded tolerance, because there is no other circumstance in which they differ from every nation on earth. They have made the happy discovery, that the way to silence religious disputes is to take no notice of them. (From "Notes on Virginia," 1782. F. III., 265.)

CINCINNATI, SOCIETY OF.—A single fibre left of this institution will produce an hereditary aristocracy which will change the form of our government from the best to the worst in the world. The branches of this institution cover all the States. The Southern ones at this time are aristocratical in their dispositions and that that spirit should grow and extend itself is within the natural order of things. I do not flatter myself with the immortality of our governments; but I shall think little also of their longevity unless this germ of destruction is taken out. (To George Washington, written in Paris, 1786. F. IV., 329.)

CITIES.—When great evils happen, I am in the habit of looking out for what good may arise from them as consolations to us, and Providence has in fact so established the order of things as that most evils are the means of producing some good. The yellow fever will discourage the growth of great cities in our nation, and I view great cities as pestilential to the morals, the health, and the liberties of man. True they nourish some of the elegant arts, but the useful ones can thrive elsewhere and less perfection in the others with more health, virtue and freedom

would be my choice. (To Benjamin Rush, 1800. F. VII., 458.)

Citizenship.—The man who loves his country on its own account and not merely for its trappings of interest or power can never be divorced from it, can never refuse to come forward when he finds that she is engaged in dangers which he has the means of warding off. Make, then, an effort, my friend, to renounce your domestic comforts for a few months and reflect that to be a good husband and a good father at this moment you must also be a good citizen. (To Elbridge Gerry, 1797. F. VII., 151.)

Citizenship.—In the constitution of Spain, as proposed by the late Cortes, there was a principle entirely new to me, and not noticed in yours, that no person, born after that day, should ever acquire the rights of citizenship until he could read and write. It is impossible sufficiently to estimate the wisdom of this provision. Of all those which have been thought of for securing fidelity in the administration of the government, constant ralliance to the principles of the constitution, and progressive amendments with the progressive advances of the human mind, or changes in human affairs, it is the most effectual. Enlighten the people generally, and tyranny and oppression of body and mind will vanish like evil spirits at the dawn of day. Although I do not, with some enthusiasts, believe that the human condition will ever advance to such a state of perfection as that there shall no longer be pain or vice in the world, yet I believe it susceptible of much improvement, and most of all in matters of government and religion; and that the diffusion of knowledge among the people is to be the instrument by which it is to be effected. (To Dupont de Nemours, 1816. C. VI., 592.)

Civil Power.—To render these proceedings still more criminal against our laws, instead of subjecting the military to the civil powers, his majesty has expressly made the civil subordinate to the military. But can his majesty put down all law under his feet? Can he erect a power superior to that which erected himself? He has done it indeed by force, but let him remember that force cannot give right. (From "A Summary View," 1774. F. I., 445.)

Civil Rights.—Our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions, any more than on our opinions in physics or geometry; and, therefore, the proscribing any citizen as unworthy the public confidence by laying upon him an incapacity of being called to offices of trust or emolument, unless he profess or renounce this or that religious opinion, is depriving him judicially of those privileges and advantages to which, in common with his fellow-citizens he has a natural right. (From a bill for establishing religious freedom, 1779. F. II., 238.)

Civil Service.—Your recommendation of Mr. Reynolds would have given me all the disposition possible to have found a place for him. But in the office to which I have been called, all was full, and I could not in any case think it just to turn out those in possession who have behaved well, merely to put others in. (To Francis Willis, 1790. F. V., 157.)

Civil Service.—Out of about six hundred offices named by the President there were six Republicans only when I came into office and these were chiefly half-breeds. Out of upwards of three hundred holding office during pleasure, I removed about fifteen or those who had signalized themselves by their own intolerance in office, because the public voice called for it imperiously, and it was just that the Republicans should at length have some participation in the government. There never was another removal but for such delinquencies as removed the Republicans equally. In the horrid drudgery I always felt myself as a public executioner, an office which no one who knows me, I hope, supposes very grateful to my feelings. It was considerably alleviated, however, by the industry of their newspapers in endeavoring to excite resentment enough to enable me to meet the operation. (To William Short, 1807. F. IX., 51.)

Civil Service.—See Offices, Rotation, Nepotism.

The Classics.—You ask my opinion on the extent to which classical learning should be carried in our country. A sickly condition permits me to think, and a rheumatic hand to write too briefly on this litigated question. The utilities we derive from the remains of the Greek and Latin languages are, first,

as models of pure taste in writing. To these we are certainly indebted for the national and chaste style of modern composition which so much distinguishes the nations to whom these languages are familiar. Without these models we should probably have continued the inflated style of our Northern ancestors, or the hyperbolical and vague one of the East. 2d. Among the values of classical learning, I estimate the luxury of reading the Greek and Roman authors in all the beauties of their originals. And why should not this innocent and elegant luxury take its pre-eminent stand ahead of all those addressed merely to the senses? I think myself more indebted to my father for this than for all the other luxuries his cares and affections have placed within my reach; and more now than when younger, and more susceptible of delights from other sources. When the decays of age have enfeebled the useful energies of the mind, the classic pages fill up the vacuum of *ennui* and become sweet composers to that rest of the grave into which we are all sooner or later to descend. 3d. A third value is in the stores of real science deposited, and transmitted us in these languages, to wit: in history, ethics, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, natural history, etc.

But to whom are these things useful? Certainly not to all men. There are conditions of life to which they must be forever estranged, and there are epochs of life too, after which the endeavor to attain them would be a great misemployment of time. Their acquisition should be the occupation of our early years only, when the memory is susceptible of deep and lasting impressions, and reason and judgment not yet strong enough for abstract speculations. (To John Brazier, 1819. C. VII., 131.)

Clergy.—I observe in the same scheme of a constitution an abridgment of the right of being elected, which after seventeen years more of experience and reflection I do not approve. It is incapacitation of a clergyman from being elected. The clergy by getting themselves established by law and ingrafted into the machine of government have been a very formidable engine against the civil and religious rights of man. They

are still so in many countries and even in some of these United States. Even in 1783, we doubted the stability of our recent measures for reducing them to the footing of other useful callings. It now appears that our means were effectual. The clergy here seem to have relinquished all pretensions to privilege and to stand on a footing with lawyers, physicians, etc. They ought, therefore, to possess the same rights. (To Jeremiah Moore, 1800. F. VII., 454.)

CLERGY.—The *Palladium* is understood to be the clerical paper, and from the clergy I expect no mercy. They crucified their Saviour, who preached that their kingdom was not of this world; and all who practice on that precept must expect the extreme of their wrath. The laws of the present day withhold their hands from blood; but lies and slander still remain to them. (To Levi Lincoln, 1801. F. VII., 84.)

COLLEGES.—You have now an happy opportunity of carrying this intermediate establishment into execution without laying a cent of tax on the people, or taking one from the treasury. Divide the State into college districts of about eighty miles square each. There would be about eight such districts below the Alleghany, and two beyond it, which would be necessarily of larger extent because of the sparseness of their population. The only advance these colleges would call for, would be for a dwelling house for the teacher, of about one thousand two hundred dollars cost, and a boarding house with four or five bed rooms, and a school room for probably about twenty or thirty boys. The whole should cost not more than five thousand dollars, but the funds of William and Mary would enable you to give them ten thousand dollars each. The district might be so laid off that the principal towns and the academies now existing might form convenient sites for their colleges; as, for example, Williamsburg, Richmond, Fredericksburg, Hampden Sydney, Lynchburg or Lexington, Staunton, Winchester, etc. Thus, of William and Mary, you will make ten colleges, each as useful as she ever was, leaving one in Williamsburg by itself, placing as good a one within a day's ride of every man in the State and get our whole scheme of education com-

pletely established. (To ——— ———, 1824. C. VII., 385.)

COLONIES.—Ancient nations considered Colonies principally as receptacles for a too numerous population, and as natural and useful allies in times of war; but modern nations, viewing commerce as an object of first importance, value Colonies chiefly as instruments for the increase of that. (To the Swedish Embassador at Paris, 1786. F. IV., 238.)

COMMERCE.—Our interest will be to throw open the doors of commerce, and to knock off all its shackles, giving perfect freedom to all persons for the vent of whatever they may choose to bring into our ports and asking the same in theirs. (From "Notes on Virginia," 1782. F. III., 279.)

COMMERCE.—All the world is becoming commercial. Were it practicable to keep our new empire separated from them we might indulge ourselves in speculating whether commerce contributes to the happiness of mankind. But we cannot separate ourselves from them. Our citizens have had too full a taste of the comforts furnished by the arts and manufactures to be debarred the use of them. We must then in our defense endeavor to share as large a portion as we can of this modern source of wealth and power. (To George Washington, 1784. F. III., 422.)

COMMERCE.—With England nothing will produce a treaty but an enforcement of the resolutions of Congress proposing that there should be no trade where there is no treaty. The infatuation of that nation seems really preternatural. If anything will open their eyes it will be the application to the avarice of the merchants who are the very people who have opposed the treaty first meditated, and who have excited the spirit of hostility at present prevailing against us. Deaf to every principle of common sense, insensible to the feelings of men, they firmly believe they shall be permitted by us to keep all the carrying trade and that we shall attempt no act of retaliation because they are pleased to think it our interest not to do so. (Written from Paris to James Madison, 1784. F. VI., 7.)

COMMERCE.—Congress, by the Confederation, have no original and inherent power over the commerce of the States. But by

the 9th article they are authorized to enter into treaties of commerce. The moment these treaties are concluded the jurisdiction of Congress over the commerce springs into existence, and that of the particular State is superseded so far as the articles of the treaty may have taken up the subject. * * * You see my primary object in the formation of treaties is to take the commerce of the States out of the hands of the States, and to place it under the superintendence of Congress so far as the imperfect provisions of our Constitution will admit, and until the States shall by new compact make them more perfect. (From a letter to James Monroe from Paris, 1785. F. IV., 56.)

COMMERCE.—I have heard with great pleasure that our assembly have come to the resolution of giving the regulation of commerce to the federal head. I will venture to assert that there is not one of its opposers who, placed on this ground, would not see the wisdom of this measure. The politics of Europe render it indispensably necessary that with respect to everything external we be one nation only, firmly hooped together. Interior Government is what each State should keep to itself. If it could be seen in Europe that all our States could be brought to concur in what the Virginia assembly has done, it would produce a total revolution in their opinion of us, and respect for us. And it should ever be held in mind that insult and war are the consequences of a want of respectability in the national character. As long as the States exercise separately those acts of power which respect foreign nations, so long will there continue to be irregularities committed by some one or other of them, which will constantly keep us on an ill footing with foreign nations. (Written from Paris to James Madison, 1786. F. IV., 192.)

COMMERCE.—I have laid my shoulder to the opening of the markets of this country to our produce, and rendering its transportation a nursery for our seamen. A maritime force is the only one by which we can act on Europe. Our navigation law (if it be wise to have any) should be the reverse of that of England. Instead of confining importations to home bottoms

or those of the producing nations, I think we should confine exportations to home bottoms or to those nations having treaties with us. Our exportations are heavy, and would nourish a great force of our own, or be a tempting price to the nation to whom we should offer a participation of it in exchange for free access to all their possessions. (To George Washington, written in Paris, 1788. F. V., 58.)

COMMERCE.—Instead of embarrassing commerce under piles of regulating laws, duties and prohibitions, could it be relieved of all its shackles in all parts of the world, could every country be employed in producing that which nature has best fitted it to produce, and each be free to exchange with others mutual surpluses for mutual wants, the greatest mass possible would then be produced of those things which contribute to human life and human happiness; the numbers of mankind would be increased and their condition bettered.

Would even a single nation begin with the United States this system of free commerce, it would be advisable to begin it with that nation, since it is one by one only that it can extend to all. Where the circumstances of either party render it expedient to levy a revenue, by way of import, on commerce, its freedom might be modified in that particular by mutual and equivalent measures, preserving it entire in all others. (From a Report on the Commerce of the United States, 1793. F. VI., 480.)

COMMERCE.—Where a nation imposes high duties on our productions or prohibits them altogether, it may be proper for us to do the same by theirs; first burdening or excluding those productions which they bring here in competition with our own of the same kind; selecting next such manufactures as we take from them in greatest quantity, and which, at the same time we could the soonest furnish to ourselves or obtain from other countries; imposing on them duties lighter at first, but heavier and heavier afterwards, as other channels of supply open. Such duties having the effect of indirect encouragement to domestic manufactures of the same kind, may induce the manufacturer to come himself into these States, where cheaper subsistence,

equal laws, and a vent of his wares free of duty may ensure him the highest profits from his skill and industry. And here it would be in the power of the State Governments to co-operate essentially by opening the resources of encouragement which are under their control, extending them liberally to artists in those particular branches of manufacture for which their soil, climate, population, and other circumstances have matured them, and fostering the precious efforts and progress of household manufacture by some patronage suited to the nature of its objects, guided by the local informations they possess, and guarded against abuse by their presence and attentions. The oppressions on our agriculture in foreign ports would thus be made the occasion of relieving it from a dependence on the councils and conduct of others, and of promoting arts, manufactures and population at home. (From a Report on the Commerce of the United States, 1793. F. VI., 481.)

COMMERCE.—What a glorious exchange it would be could we persuade our navigating fellow citizens to embark their capital in the internal commerce of our country, excluding foreigners from that and let them take the carrying trade in exchange; abolish the diplomatic establishments and never suffer an armed vessel of any nation to enter our ports. (To Edmund Pendleton, 1799. F. VII., 376.)

COMMERCE.—I hope with you that the policy of our country will settle down with as much navigation and commerce only as our own exchanges will require, and that the disadvantage will be seen of our undertaking to carry on that of other nations. This, indeed, may bring gain to a few individuals, and enable them to call off from our farms more laborers to be converted into lackeys and grooms for them, but it will bring nothing to our country but wars, debt and dilapidation. (To J. B. Stuart, 1817. C. VII., 64.)

COMMON LAW.—Of all the doctrines which have ever been broached by the Federal Government the novel one of the common law being in force and cognizable as an existing law in their courts is to me the most formidable. All their other assumptions of un-given powers have been in the detail. The bank

law, the treaty doctrine, the sedition act, alien act * * *, have been solitary, unconsequential, timid things, in comparison with the audacious, barefaced and sweeping pretension to a system of law for the United States without the adoption of their legislature, and so infinitely beyond their power to adopt. If this assumption be yielded to, the State courts may be shut up, as there will then be nothing to hinder citizens of the same State suing each other in the Federal courts in every case, as on a bond for instance, because the common law obliges payment of it, and the common law they say is their law. (To Edmund Randolph, 1799. F. VII., 384.)

COMPROMISE.—A government held together by the bands of reason only, requires much compromise of opinion; that things even salutary should not be crammed down the throats of dissenting brethren, especially when they may be put into a form to be willingly swallowed, and that a great deal of indulgence is necessary to strengthen habits of harmony and fraternity. (To Edward Livingston, 1824. C. VII., 343.)

CONFEDERACIES.—Whether we remain in one Confederacy, or form into Atlantic and Mississippi Confederacies, I believe not very important to the happiness of either part. Those of the Western Confederacy will be as much children and descendants as those of the Eastern, and I feel myself as much identified with that country, in future time, as with this; and did I now foresee a separation at some future day, yet I should feel the duty and the desire to promote the Western interests as zealously as the Eastern, doing all the good for both portions of our future family which should fall within my power. (To Joseph Priestly, 1804. F. VIII., 295.)

CONFEDERATION.—The power of declaring war and concluding peace, of contracting alliances, of issuing letters of marque and reprisal, of raising and introducing armed forces, of building armed vessels, forts or strongholds, of coining money or regulating its value, of regulating weights and measures, we leave to be exercised under the authority of the Confederation; but in all cases respecting them which are out of the said Confederation, they shall be exercised by the Governor under the regu-

lation of such laws as the legislature may think it expedient to pass. (From a proposed Constitution for Virginia, 1783. F. III., 326.)

CONFEDERATION.—It has often been said that the decisions of Congress are impotent because the Confederation provides no compulsory power. But when two or more nations enter into compact it is not usual for them to say what shall be done to the party who infringes it. Decency forbids this, and it is unnecessary as indecent, because the right of compulsion naturally results to the party injured by the breach. When any one State in the American Union refuses obedience to the Confederation by which they have bound themselves, the rest have a natural right to compel them to obedience. Congress would probably exercise long patience before they would recur to force; but if the case ultimately required it, they would use that recurrence. (From Answers propounded by M. de Meusnier, 1786. F. IV., 140.)

CONFEDERATION.—The Confederation is a wonderfully perfect instrument considering the circumstances under which it was formed. There are, however, some alterations which experience proves to be wanting. (From answers to questions propounded by M. de Meusnier, 1786. F. IV., 141.)

CONFEDERATION.—It has been so often said as to be generally believed, that Congress have no power by the Confederation to enforce anything, for example, contributions of money. It was not necessary to give them that power expressly; they have it by the law of nature. When two parties make a compact, there results to each a power of compelling the other to execute it. Compulsion was never so easy as in our case, where a single frigate would soon levy on the commerce of any State the deficiency of its contributions; nor more safe than in the hands of Congress which has always shown that it would wait, as it ought to do, to the last extremities before it would execute any of its powers which are disagreeable. (To Edward Carrington, written in Paris, 1786. F. IV., 424.)

CONFIDENCE.—It would be a dangerous delusion were a confidence in the men of our choice to silence our fears for the safety

of our rights; confidence is everywhere the parent of despotism —free Government is founded on jealousy, and not in confidence; it is jealousy and not confidence which prescribes limited Constitutions to bind down those whom we are obliged to trust with power; our Constitution has accordingly fixed the limits to which, and no further, our confidence may go; and let the honest advocate of confidence read the Alien and Sedition acts and say if the Constitution has not been wise in fixing limits to the government it created, and whether we should be wise in destroying those limits. In questions of power, then, let no more be heard of confidence in man, but bind him down from mischief by the chains of the Constitution. (From "Kentucky Resolutions," 1798. F. VII., 304.)

CONGRESS.—Resolved unanimously that this Assembly of Virginia will not listen to any proposition or suffer any negotiation inconsistent with their national faith and Federal union, and that a proposition from the enemy for treating with any Assembly or body of men in America other than the Congress of these United States is insidious and inadmissible. (Resolutions concerning peace with England, 1778. F. II., 160.)

CONGRESS.—The negative proposed to be given Congress on all the acts of the several legislatures is now for the first time suggested to my mind. *Prima facie* I do not like it. It fails in an essential character that the hole and the patch should be commensurate. But this proposes to mend a small hole by covering the whole garment. Not more than one out of one hundred State acts concern the Confederacy. This proposition, then, in order to give them one degree of power which they ought to have, gives them 99 more which they ought not to have, upon a presumption that they will not exercise the 99. * * * Would not an appeal from the State judicatures to a Federal court in all cases where the act of Confederation controlled the question be as effectual a remedy and exactly commensurate to the defect? A British creditor, for example, sues for his debt in Virginia; the defendant pleads an act of the State excluding him from their courts; the plaintiff urges the Confederation and the treaty made under that, as controlling the

State law; the judges are weak enough to decide according to the views of their legislature. An appeal to a Federal court sets all to rights. It will be said that this court may encroach on the jurisdiction of the State courts. It may. But there will be a power, towit, Congress, to watch and restrain them. But place the same authority in Congress itself, and there will be no power above them to perform the same office. They will restrain within due bounds a jurisdiction exercised by others more rigorously than if exercised by themselves. (To James Madison, written from Paris, 1787. F. IV., 391.)

CONQUEST.—It is an established principle that conquest gives inchoate right, which does not become perfect till confirmed by the treaty of peace, and by a renunciation or abandonment by the former proprietor. (From a Report on the Negotiation with Spain, 1792. F. V., 463.)

CONSOLIDATION.—This will contain matters not intended for the public eye. I see as you do, and with the deepest affliction, the rapid strides with which the Federal branch of our government is advancing toward the usurpation of all the rights reserved to the States, and the consolidation in itself of all powers foreign and domestic; and that too by constructions which, if legitimate, have no limits to their power. Take together the decisions of the Federal court, the decision of the President and the misconstructions of the Constitutional compact acted on by the legislators of the Federal branch, and it is but too evident that the three ruling branches of that department are in combination to strip their colleagues, the State authorities, of the powers reserved by them and to exercise themselves all functions, foreign and domestic. Under the power to regulate commerce they assume indefinitely that also over agriculture and manufacture and call it regulation to take the earnings of one of these branches of industry, and that too the most depressed, and put them into the pockets of the other, the most flourishing of all. Under the authority to establish post-roads they claim that of cutting down mountains for the construction of roads, of digging canals, and aided by a little sophistry on the words "general welfare;" a right to do not only the acts

to effect that which are specifically enumerated and permitted, but whatever they shall think or pretend will be for the general welfare. And what is our resource for the preservation of the Constitution? Reason and argument? You might as well reason and argue with the marble columns encircling them. They are joined in the combination, some from incorrect views of government, some from corrupt ones, sufficient voting together to out-number the sound parts, and with majorities of only one, two or three bold enough to go forward in defiance. Are we then to stand to our arms with the hot-headed Georgian? No. That must be the last resource, not to be thought of until much longer and greater sufferings. If every infraction of a compact of so many parties is to be resisted at once as a dissolution of it none can ever be formed which would last one year. We must have patience and longer endurance, then, with our brethren while under delusion; give them time for reflection and experience of consequences; keep ourselves in a situation to profit by the chapter of accidents; and separate from our companies only when the sole alternatives left are the dissolution of our union with them, or submission to a government without limitation of powers. Between these two evils, when we must take a choice, there can be no hesitation. But in the meanwhile, the States should be watchful to note every material usurpation on their rights, to denounce them as they occur in the most peremptory terms; to protest against them as wrongs to which our present submission shall be considered not as acknowledgments or precedents of right but as a temporary yielding to the lesser evil until their accumulation shall overweigh that of separation. (To William Giles, 1825. C. VII., 426.)

THE CONSTITUTION.—I answer that *constitutio, constitutum, statum, lex* are convertible terms. The term constitution has many significations in physics and politics; but in jurisprudence, whenever it is applied to any act of the legislature, it invariably, means a statute, law, or ordinance. * * * To get rid of the magic supposed to be in the word constitution, let us translate it into its definition as given by those who think it above the power of the law; and let us suppose the convention, [of Vir-

ginia] instead of saying, "We, the ordinary Legislature, establish a Constitution," had said, "We, the ordinary Legislature, establish an act above the power of the ordinary Legislature." (From "Notes on Virginia," 1782. F. III., 228.)

THE CONSTITUTION.—I find by the public papers that your Commercial Convention failed in point of representation. If it should produce a full meeting in May, 1787, and a broader reformation it will still be well. To make us one nation as to foreign concerns, and keep us distinct in domestic ones, gives the outlines of the proper division of power between the general and the particular governments. But to enable the Federal head to exercise the power given it, to best advantage, it should be organized, as the particular ones are into Legislative, Executive and Judiciary. When last with Congress I often proposed to members to do this by making of the committee of the States, an executive committee during its sessions to appoint a committee to receive and despatch all executive business, so that Congress itself should meddle only with what should be legislative. But I question if any Congress (much less all successively) can have self-denial enough to go through this distribution. The distribution should be imposed on them. (To James Madison, written in Paris, 1786. F. IV., 333.)

THE CONSTITUTION.—I like the power given to the legislature to levy taxes, and for that reason solely approve of the greater House being chosen by the people directly. For though I think a House chosen by them will be very illy qualified to legislate for the Union, for foreign nations, etc., yet this evil does not weigh against the good of preserving inviolate the fundamental principle that the people are not to be taxed but by representatives chosen immediately by themselves. I am captivated by the compromise of the opposite claims of the great and little States, of the latter to equal, and the former to proportional influence. I am much pleased, too, with the substitution of the method of voting by persons, instead of that of voting by States; and I like the negative given to the Executive with a third of either House, though I should have liked it better had the

Judiciary been associated for that purpose, or invested with a similar and separate power.

I will now add what I do not like. First, the omission of a bill of Rights providing clearly and without the aid of sophisms for freedom of religion, freedom of the press, protection against standing armies, restriction against monopolies, the eternal and unremitting force of the *habeas corpus* laws, and trials by jury in all matters of fact triable by the laws of the land and not by the laws of the Nation. * * * A bill of rights is what the people are entitled to against every government on earth. * * * The second feature I dislike, and greatly dislike, is the abandonment in every instance of the necessity of rotation in office, and most particularly in the case of the President. Experience concurs with reason in concluding that the first magistrate will always be re-elected if the Constitution permits it. He is then an officer for life. * * * The power of removing him every fourth year by the vote of the people is a power which will not be exercised. The King of Poland is removable every day by the Diet, yet he is never removed. Smaller objections are the appeal in fact as well as law, and the binding all persons, Legislative, Executive, and Judiciary by oath to maintain that Constitution. After all, it is my principle that the will of the majority should always prevail. If they approve the proposed Constitution in all its parts, I shall concur in it cheerfully, in hopes that they will amend it whenever they shall find it work wrong. (To James Madison, written in Paris, 1787. F. IV., 476.)

The Constitution.—As to the new Constitution, I find myself nearly a neutral. There is a great mass of good in it, in a very desirable form; but there is also to me a bitter pill or two. I have written somewhat lengthy to Mr. Madison on this subject and will take the liberty to refer you to that part of my letter to him. I will add one question to what I have said there. Would it not have been better to assign to Congress exclusively the articles of imposts for Federal purposes, and to have left direct taxation exclusively to the States? I should suppose the former fund sufficient for all probable events, aided

by the land office. (To Edward Carrington, 1787. F. IV., 482.)

THE CONSTITUTION.—I am glad to learn that the new Constitution will undoubtedly be received by a sufficiency of the States to set it a going. Were I in America, I would advocate it warmly till nine should have adopted it, and then as warmly take the other side to convince the remaining four that they ought not to come into it until the declaration of rights is annexed to it. By this means we should secure all the good of it and procure so respectable an opposition as would induce the accepting States to offer a bill of rights. * * * I fear much the effects of the perpetual re-eligibility of the President. (To Stephens Smith, written in Paris, 1788. F. V., 2.)

THE CONSTITUTION.—I congratulate you on the accession of your State (South Carolina) to the new Federal Constitution. * * * Our Government wanted bracing. Still we must take care not to run from one extreme to another; not to brace too high. I own I join those in opinion who think a bill of Rights necessary. I apprehended too that the total abandonment of the principle of rotation in the offices of President and Senator will end in abuse. But my confidence is that there will for a long time be virtue and good sense enough in our countrymen to correct abuses. We can surely boast of having set the world a beautiful example of a government reformed by reason alone without bloodshed. (To Edward Rutledge, written in Paris, 1788. F. V., 42.)

THE CONSTITUTION.—The operations which have taken place in America lately, fill me with pleasure. In the first place they realize the confidence I had that whenever our affairs go obviously wrong the good sense of the people will interfere and set them to rights. The example of changing a Constitution by assembling the wise men of the State, instead of assembling armies, will be worth as much to the world as the former examples we had given them. The Constitution, too, which was the result of our deliberations, is unquestionably the wisest ever produced to men, and some of the accommodations of interest which it has adopted are greatly pleasing to me who have before had occasions of seeing how difficult those interests were to

accommodate. (Written to David Humphreys, from Paris, 1789. F. V., 89.)

The Constitution.—But when I consider that the limits of the United States are precisely fixed by the treaty of 1783, that the Constitution expressly declares itself to be made for the United States, I cannot help believing the intention was to permit Congress to admit into the Union new States, which should be formed out of the territory for which, and under whose authority alone, they were then acting. I do not believe it was meant that they might receive England, Ireland, Holland, etc., into it, which would be the case on your construction. When an instrument admits two constructions, the one safe, the other dangerous, the one precise, the other indefinite, I prefer that which is safe and precise. I had rather ask an enlargement of power from the nation, where it is found necessary, than to assume it by a construction which would make our powers boundless. Our peculiar security is in possession of a written Constitution. Let us not make it blank paper by construction. I say the same as to the opinion of those who consider the grant of the treaty making power as boundless. If it is, then we have no Constitution. If it has bounds, they can be no others than the definitions of the powers which that instrument gives. It specifies and delineates the operations permitted to the Federal Government, and gives all the powers necessary to carry these into execution. Whatever of these enumerated objects is proper for a law, Congress may make the law; whatever is proper to be executed by way of a treaty, the President and Senate may enter into the treaty; whatever is done by a Judicial sentence, the Judges may pass the sentence. Nothing is more likely than that their enumeration of powers is defective. This is the ordinary case of all human works. Let us go on then perfecting it, by adding, by way of amendment to the Constitution, those powers which time and trial show are still wanting. But it has been taken too much for granted, that by the rigorous construction the treaty power would be reduced to nothing. I had occasion once to examine its effect on the French treaty, made by the old Congress, and

found that out of thirty odd articles which that contained, there were one, two, or three only which could not now be stipulated under our present Constitution. I confess, then, I think it important, in the present case, to set an example against broad construction, by appealing for new power to the people. If, however, our friends shall think differently, certainly I shall acquiesce with satisfaction; confiding, that the good sense of our country will correct the evil of construction when it shall produce ill effects. (To W. C. Nicholas, 1803. F. VIII., 247.)

THE CONSTITUTION.—A Constitution has been acquired, which, though neither of us thinks perfect, yet both consider as competent to render our fellow citizens the happiest and the securest on whom the sun has ever shone. If we do not think exactly alike as to its imperfections, it matters little to our country, which, after devoting to it long lives of disinterested labor, we have delivered over to our successors in life, who will be able to take care of it and of themselves. (To John Adams, 1813. C. VI., 227.)

THE CONSTITUTION.—Some men look at Constitutions with sanctimonious reverence, and deem them like the ark of the covenant, too sacred to be touched. They ascribe to the men of the preceding age a wisdom more than human, and suppose what they did to be beyond amendment. I knew that age well; I belonged to it, and labored with it. It deserved well of its country. It was very like the present; and forty years of experience in government is worth a century of book-reading; and this they would say themselves, were they to rise from the dead. I am certainly not an advocate for frequent and untried changes in laws and constitutions. I think moderate imperfections had better be borne with; because, when once known, we accommodate ourselves to them, and find practical means of correcting their ill effects. But I know, also, that laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind. As that becomes more developed, more enlightened, as new discoveries are made, new truths disclosed, and manners and opinions change with the change of circumstances, institutions must advance also, and keep pace with the times. We

might as well require a man to wear still the coat which fitted him when a boy, as civilized society to remain ever under the regimen of their barbarous ancestors. It is this preposterous idea which has lately deluged Europe in blood. Their monarchs, instead of wisely yielding to the gradual change of circumstances, of favoring progressive accommodation to progressive improvement, have clung to old abuses, entrenched themselves behind steady habits, and obliged their subjects to seek through blood and violence rash and ruinous innovations, which, had they been referred to the peaceful deliberations and collected wisdom of the nation, would have been put into acceptable and salutary form. Let us follow no such examples, nor weakly believe that one generation is not as capable as another of taking care of itself, and of ordering its own affairs. Let us, as our sister States have done, avail ourselves of our reason and experience, to correct the crude essays of our first and unexperienced, although wise, virtuous, and well-meaning councils. And lastly, let us provide in our Constitution for its revision at stated periods. What these periods should be, nature herself indicates. By the European tables of mortality, of the adults living at any one moment of time, a majority will be dead in about nineteen years. At the end of that period then a new majority is come into place; or, in other words, a new generation. Each generation is as independent of the one preceding, as that was of all which had gone before. It has, then, like them, a right to choose for itself the form of government it believes most promotive of its own happiness; consequently, to accommodate to the circumstances in which it finds itself, that received from its predecessors; and it is for the peace and good of mankind, that a solemn opportunity of doing this every nineteen or twenty years, should be provided by the Constitution; so that it may be handed on, with periodical repairs, from generation, to generation, to generation, to the end of time, if anything human can endure so long. It is now forty years since the Constitution of Virginia was formed. The same tables inform us, that, within that period, two-thirds of the adults then living are now dead. Have then the remaining third, even if they had the wish, the

right to hold in obedience to their will, and to laws heretofore made by them, the other two-thirds, who, with themselves, compose the present mass of adults? If they have not, who has? The dead? But the dead have no rights. They are nothing; and nothing cannot be something. Where there is no substance, there can be no accident. This corporeal globe, and everything upon it, belongs to its present corporeal inhabitants, during their generation. They alone have the right to direct what is the concern of themselves alone, and to declare the law of that direction; and this declaration can only be made by their majority. That majority, then, has a right to depute representatives to a convention, and to make the Constitution what they think will be the best for themselves. (To Samuel Kercheval, 1816. C. VII., 14-16.)

THE CONSTITUTION.—The radical idea of the character of the Constitution of our government, which I have adopted as a key in cases of doubtful construction, is, that the whole field of government is divided into two departments, domestic and foreign (the States in their mutual relations being of the latter); that the former department is reserved exclusively to the respective States within their own limits, and the latter assigned to a separate set of functionaries, constituting what may be called the foreign branch, which, instead of a Federal basis, is established as a distinct government *quoad hoc,* acting as the domestic branch does on the citizens directly and coercively; that these departments have distinct directories, co-ordinate, and equally independent and supreme, each within its own sphere of action. Whenever a doubt arises to which of these branches a power belongs, I try it by this test. I recollect no case where a question simply between citizens of the same State, has been transferred to the foreign department, except that of inhibiting tenders but of metallic money, and *ex post facto* legislation. The causes of these singularities are well remembered. (To Edward Livingston, 1824. C. VII., 342.)

CONSTITUTIONALITY.—Whether the judges are invested with exclusive authority to decide on the Constitutionality of a law, has been heretofore a subject of consideration with me in the

exercise of official duties. Certainly there is not a word in the Constitution which has given that power to them more than to the executive or legislative branches. Questions of property, of character and of crime being ascribed to the Judges, through a definite course of legal proceeding, laws involving such questions belong, of course, to them; and as they decide on them ultimately and without appeal, they, of course, decide for themselves. The Constitutional validity of the law or laws again prescribing executive action, and to be administered by that branch ultimately and without appeal, the Executive must decide for themselves also, whether, under the Constitution, they are valid or not. So also as to laws governing the proceedings of the legislature, that body must judge for itself the constitutionality of the law, and equally without appeal or control from its co-ordinate branches. And, in general, that branch which is to act ultimately, and without appeal, on any law, is the rightful expositor of the validity of the law, uncontrolled by the opinions of the other co-ordinate authorities. (To W. H. Torrance, 1815. C. VI., 461.)

Constitutions.—No society can make a perpetual Constitution or even a perpetual law. The earth belongs always to the living generation. They may manage it then, and what proceeds from it, as they please during their usufruct. They are masters, too, of their own persons, and consequently may govern them as they please. But persons and property make the sum of the objects of government. The Constitution and laws of their predecessors extinguished them, in their natural course, with those whose will gave them being. This could preserve that being till it ceased to be itself, and no longer. Every Constitution, then, and every law, naturally expires at the end of nineteen years. If it be enforced longer, it is an act of force and not of right.

It may be said that the succeeding generations exercising in fact the power of repeal, this leaves them as free as if the Constitution or law had been expressly limited to nineteen years only. In the first place, this objection admits the right, in proposing an equivalent. It might be indeed if every form of gov-

ernment were so perfectly contrived that the will of the majority could always be obtained fairly and without impediment. But this is true of no form. The people cannot assemble themselves; their representation is unequal and vicious. Various checks are opposed to every legislative proposition. Factions get possession of the public councils. Bribery corrupts them. Personal interests lead them astray from the general interests of their constituents; and other impediments arise so as to prove to every practical man that a law of limited duration is much more manageable than one which needs a repeal. (Written to James Madison from Paris, 1789. F. V., 121.)

Constitutions.—However, it is still certain that the written Constitutions may be violated in moments of passion or delusion, yet they furnish a text to which those who are watchful may again rally and recall the people; they fix too for the people the principles of their political creed. (To Joseph Priestly, 1802. F. VIII., 159.)

Consuls.—The law of nations does not of itself extend to consuls at all. They are not of the diplomatic class of characters, to which alone that law extends of right. Convention indeed may give it to them, and sometimes has done so; but in that case the convention can be produced. In ours with France, it is expressly declared that consuls shall have the privilege of that law, and we have no convention with any other nation. * * * Independent of law, consuls are to be considered as distinguished foreigners, dignified by a commission from their sovereign and especially recommended by him to the respect of the nations with whom they reside. They are subject to the laws of the land, indeed, precisely as other foreigners are, a convention where there is one making part of the law of the land; but if at any time, their conduct should render it necessary to arrest the authority of the laws over them, the rigor of those laws should be tempered by our respect for their sovereign as far as the case will admit. This moderate and respectful treatment towards foreign consuls, it is my duty to recommend and press on our citizens, because I ask it for their

good towards our own consuls, from the people with whom they reside. (To T. Newton, 1791. C. III., 295.)

CONTRABAND.—It may be objected that this proves too much, as it proves you cannot enter the ship of a friend to search for contraband of war. But this is not proving too much. We believe the practice of seizing what is called contraband of war, is an abusive practice, not founded in natural right. War between two nations cannot diminish the rights of the rest of the world remaining at peace. The doctrine that the rights of nations remaining quietly under the exercise of moral and social duties, are to give way to the convenience of those who prefer plundering and murdering one another, is a monstrous doctrine; and ought to yield to the more rational law, that "the wrongs which two nations endeavor to inflict on each other, must not infringe on the rights or conveniences of those remaining at peace." And what is contraband, by the law of nature? Either everything which may aid or comfort an enemy, or nothing. Either all commerce which would accommodate him is unlawful, or none is. The difference between articles of one or another description, is a difference in degree only. No line between them can be drawn. Either all intercourse must cease between neutrals and belligerents, or all be permitted. Can the world hesitate to say which shall be the rule? Shall two nations turning tigers, break up in one instant the peaceable relations of the whole world? Reason and nature clearly pronounce that the neutral is to go on in the enjoyment of all its rights, that its commerce remains free, not subject to the jurisdiction of another, nor consequently its vessels to search, or to enquiries whether their contents are the property of an enemy, or are those which have been called contraband of war. (To the United States Minister to France, 1801. F. VIII., 90.)

CONTROVERSY.—But in stating prudential rules for our government in society, I must not omit the important one of never entering into a dispute or argument with another. I never saw an instance of one of two disputants convincing the other by argument. I have seen many, on their getting warm, becoming rude, and shooting one another. Conviction is the effect of our

own dispassionate reasoning, either in solitude, or weighing within ourselves, dispassionately, what we hear from others, standing unconvicted in argument ourselves. It was one of the rules which, above all others, made Dr. Franklin the most amiable of men in society, "Never to contradict anybody." If he was urged to announce an opinion he did it rather by asking questions, as if for information or by suggesting doubts. When I hear another express an opinion which is not mine, I say to myself, he has a right to his opinion, as I to mine; why should I question it? His error does me no injury, and shall I become a Don Quixote to bring all men by force of argument to one opinion? If a fact be misstated, it is probable he is gratified by the belief of it, and I have no right to deprive him of the gratification. If he wants reformation he will ask it, and then I will give it in measured terms; but if he still believes his own story, and shows a desire to dispute the fact with me, I hear him and say nothing. It is his affair, not mine, if he prefers error.

There are two classes of disputants most frequently to be met with among us. The first is of young students, just entered the threshold of science, with a first view of its outlines, not yet filled up with the details and modifications which a further progress would bring to their knowledge. The other consists of the ill-tempered and rude men in society, who have taken up a passion for politics. (Good humor and politeness never introduce into a mixed society a question on which they foresee there will be a difference of opinion.) From both of these classes of disputants, my dear Jefferson, keep aloof as you would from the infected subjects of yellow fever or pestilence. Consider yourself when with them as among the patients of Bedlam, needing medical more than moral counsel. Be a listener only, keep within yourself, and endeavor to establish with yourself the habit of silence, especially in politics. In the fevered state of our country no good can ever result from any attempt to set one of these fiery zealots to rights, either in fact or principle. They are determined as to the facts they will believe and the opinions on which they will act. Get by them, therefore, as

you would by an angry bull; it is not for a man of sense to dispute the road with such an animal. (To T. J. Randolph, 1808. C. V., 390.)

CORPORATIONS.—The Senate received yesterday a bill from the representatives incorporating a company for Roosevelt's copper mines in Jersey. This is under the sweeping clause of the Constitution, and supported by the following pedigree of necessities. Congresses are authorized to defend the country; ships are necessary for that defense; copper is necessary for ships; mines are necessary to produce copper; companies are necessary to work mines: and "this is the house that Jack built." (To R. Livingston, 1800. F. VII., 446.)

CORPORATIONS.—It has always been denied by the Republican [Democratic] party in this country that the Constitution had given the power of incorporation to Congress. On the establishment of the bank of the United States, this was the great ground on which that establishment was combated; and the party prevailing supported it only on the argument of its being an incident to the power given them for raising money. On this ground it has been acquiesced in, and will probably be again acquiesced in as subsequently confirmed by public opinion. But in no other instance have they ever exercised the power of incorporation out of this district, of which they are the ordinary legislature. (To Dr. Mease, 1809. C. V., 412.)

CORPORATIONS.—It ends as might have been expected in the ruin of its (England's) people, but this ruin will fall heaviest, as it ought to fall, on that hereditary aristocracy. * * * I hope we shall take warning from the example of England and crush in its birth the aristocracy of our moneyed corporations which dare already to challenge our Government to trial, and bid defiance to the laws of our country. (To George Logan, 1816. F. X., 69.)

CORRESPONDENCE.—A right of a free correspondence between citizen and citizen on their joint interests, whether public or private and under whatsoever laws these interests arise (to wit, of the State, of Congress, of France, Spain or Turkey), is a natural right, it is not the gift of any municipal law either of

England, or Virginia, or of Congress; but in common with all our other natural rights is one of the objects for the protection of which society is formed and municipal laws established. (To James Monroe, 1797. F. VII., 172.)

COUNSEL.—I have placed my happiness on seeing you good and accomplished; and no distress this world can now bring on me would equal that of disappointing my hopes. If you love me, then strive to be good under every situation and to all living creatures, and to acquire those accomplishments which I have put in your power. (From a letter to his daughter, 1782. F. III., 346.)

COUNSEL.—Time now begins to be precious to you. Every day you lose will retard a day your entrance on that public stage whereon you may begin to be useful to yourself. However, the way to repair the loss is to improve the future time. I trust, that with your disposition, even the acquisition of science is a pleasing employment. I can assure you, that the possession of it is, what (next to an honest heart) will above all things render you dear to your friends, and give you fame and promotion in your own country. When your mind shall be well improved with science, nothing will be necessary to place you in the highest point of view but to pursue the interests of your country, the interests of your friends, and your own interests also, with the purest integrity, the most chaste honor. The defect of these virtues can never be made up by all the other acquirements of body and mind. Make these your first object. Give up money, give up fame, give up science, give the earth and all it contains, rather than do an immoral act. And never suppose, that in any possible situation, or under any circumstances, it is best for you to do a dishonorable thing, however slightly so it may appear to you. Whenever you are to do a thing, though it can never be known but to yourself, ask yourself how you would act were all the world looking at you, and act accordingly. Encourage all your virtuous dispositions, and exercise them whenever the opportunity arises; being assured that they will gain strength by exercise, as a limb of the body does, and that exercise will make them habitual. From the

practice of the purest virtue, you may be assured you will derive the most sublime comforts in every moment of life, and in the moment of death. If ever you find yourself environed with difficulties and perplexing circumstances, out of which you are at a loss how to extricate yourself, do what is right, and be assured that that will extricate you the best out of the worst situations. Though you cannot see, when you take one step, what will be the next, yet follow truth, justice, and plain dealing, and never fear their leading you out of the labyrinth, in the easiest manner possible. The knot which you thought a Gordian one, will untie itself before you. Nothing is so mistaken as the supposition, that a person is to extricate himself from a difficulty by intrigue, by chicanery, by dissimulation, by trimming, by an untruth, by an injustice. This increases the difficulties tenfold; and those who pursue these methods get themselves so involved at length, that they can turn no way but their infamy becomes more exposed. It is of great importance to set a resolution, not to be shaken, never to tell an untruth. There is no vice so mean, so pitiful, so contemptible; and he who permits himself to tell a lie once, finds it much easier to do it a second and third time, till at length it becomes habitual; he tells lies without attending to it, and truths without the world's believing him. This falsehood of the tongue leads to that of the heart, and in time depraves all its good dispositions. (To Peter Carr, a nephew, 1785. C. I., 395.)

Counsel.—I hope you are a very good girl, that you love your uncle and aunt very much, and are very thankful to them for all their goodness to you; that you never suffer yourself to be angry with anybody, that you give your playthings to those who want them, that you do whatever anybody desires of you that is right, that you never tell stories, never beg for anything, mind your books and your work when your aunt tells you, never play but when she permits you, nor go when she forbids you; remember, too, as a constant charge not to go out without your bonnet, because it will make you very ugly, and then we shall not love you so much. (From a letter written to his daughter Mary, aged seven, 1785. F. IV., 98.)

COUNSEL.—This letter will, to you, be as one from the dead. The writer will be in the grave before you can weigh its counsels. Your affectionate and excellent father has requested that I would address to you something which might possibly have a favorable influence on the course of life you have to run, and I, too, as a namesake, feel an interest in that course. Few words will be necessary, with good dispositions on your part. Adore God. Reverence and cherish your parents. Love your neighbor as yourself. Be just. Be true. Murmur not at the ways of Providence. So shall the life into which you have entered, be the portal to one of eternal and ineffable bliss. (To Thomas Jefferson Smith, 1825. C. VII., 401.)

CREATION.—I give one answer to all theorists—that is as follows: They all suppose the earth a created existence; they must suppose a Creator, then, and that he possessed power and wisdom to a great degree. As he intended the earth for the habitation of animals and vegetables, is it reasonable to suppose he made two jobs of the creation? That he first made a chaotic lump and set it in motion, and then, waiting ages necessary to form itself—that when it had done this he stepped in a second time to create the animals and plants which were to inhabit it? As a hand of a Creator is to be called in it may as well be called in at one stage of the process as another. We may as well suppose he created the earth at once nearly in the state in which we see it. (To Charles Thompson, written in Paris, 1786. F. IV., 338.)

CREDIT.—I own it to be my opinion that good will arise from destruction of our credit. I see nothing else which can restrain our disposition to luxury, and the loss of these manners which alone can preserve Republican government. As it is impossible to prevent credit, the best way would be to cure its ill effects by giving an instantaneous recovery to the creditor; this would be reducing purchases on credit to purchases for ready money. A man would then see a poison painted on everything he wished but had not ready money to pay for it. (From a letter written in Paris to Archibald Stuart, 1786. F. IV., 188.)

CREDIT.—Among the many good qualities which my country-

men possess some of a different character mix themselves. The most remarkable are indolence, extravagance and infidelity. Cure the first two and the last would disappear, because it is a consequence of them and not proceeding from a want of morals. I know of no remedy against indolence and extravagance but a free course of justice unobstructed. The maxim of buying nothing without the money in our pocket would make of our country one of the happiest upon earth. * * * Desperate of finding relief from a free course of justice, I look forward to the abolition of all credit as the only other remedy which can take place. I have seen, therefore, the pleasure the exaggerations of our want of faith with which the London papers teem. It is indeed a strong medicine for sensible minds, but it is a medicine. It will prevent their crediting us abroad, in which case we cannot be credited at home. (From a letter to A. Donald, written from Paris, 1787. F. IV., 414.)

Crimes and Punishments.—In forming a scale of crimes and punishments, two considerations have considerable weight. 1. The atrocity of the crime. 2. The peculiar circumstances of a country which furnish greater temptations to commit it, or greater facilities for escaping detection. The punishment must be heavier to counterbalance this. Was the first the only consideration, all nations would form the same scale. But as the circumstances of a country have influence on the punishment, and no two countries exist precisely under the same circumstances, no two countries will form the same scale of crimes and punishments. For example, in America the inhabitants let their horses go at large in the uninclosed lands which are so extensive as to maintain them altogether. It is easy, therefore, to steal them and easy to escape. Therefore, the laws are obliged to oppose these temptations with a heavier degree of punishment. For this reason the stealing of a horse in America is punished more severely than stealing the same value in any other form. In Europe, where horses are confined so securely that it is impossible to steal them, that species of theft need not be punished more severely than any other. In some countries of Europe, stealing fruit from trees is punished capitally.

This to an unreflecting American appears the most enormous of all the abuses of power; because he has been used to see fruit hanging in such quantities, that if not taken by men they would rot. (From observations on the article "United States," prepared for the Encyclopedia, 1786. F. IV., 170.)

CRIMINALS.—And the wretched criminal, if he happen to have offended on the American side, stripped of his privilege of trial by peers of his vicinage, removed from the place where alone full evidence could be obtained, without money, without counsel, without friends, without exculpatory proof, is tried before judges predetermined to condemn. The cowards who would suffer a countryman to be torn from the bowels of their society, in order to be thus offered a sacrifice to parliamentary tyranny, would merit the everlasting infamy now fixed on the authors of the act. (An Act for the Suppression of Riots in the Town of Boston, 14th George III.). (From a "Summary View," 1774. F. I., 439.)

CRIMINALS.—A member of society, committing an inferior injury, does not wholly forfeit the protection of his fellow citizens, but after suffering a punishment in proportion to his offence, is entitled to their protection from all greater pain, so that it becomes a duty to the Legislature to arrange in a proper scale the crimes which it may be necessary for them to repress, and to adjust thereto a corresponding gradation of punishment. (From a bill relating to crimes and punishments, 1779. F. II., 204.)

CRIMINALS.—The reformation of offenders, though an object worthy of the attention of the laws, is not effected at all by capital punishments which exterminate instead of reforming, and should be the last melancholy resource against those whose existence is become inconsistent with the safety of their fellow-citizens; which also weaken the State by cutting off so many, who, if reformed, might be restored sound members of society, who even under a course of correction, might be rendered useful in various labors for the public, and would be living and long-continued spectacles to deter others from committing like

offenses. (From a bill relating to crimes and punishments, 1779. F. II., 204.)

CUBA.—But, although with difficulty, he (Bonaparte) will consent to our receiving Cuba into our Union, to prevent our aid to Mexico and the other provinces. That would be a price and I would immediately erect a column on the southernmost limit of Cuba, and inscribe on it a *ne plus ultra* as to us in that direction. We should then have only to include the north in our Confederacy, which would be of course in the first war and we should have such an empire for liberty as she has never surveyed since creation; and I am persuaded no Constitution was ever before so well calculated as ours for extensive empire and self-government. * * * It will be objected to our receiving Cuba that no limit can be drawn to our future acquisitions. Cuba can be defended by us without a navy, and thus develop the principle which ought to limit our views. Nothing should ever be accepted which would require a navy to defend it. (To James Madison, 1809. C. V., 444.)

CUBA.—Do we wish to acquire to our own Confederacy any one or more of the Spanish provinces? I candidly confess, that I have ever looked on Cuba as the most interesting addition which could ever be made to our system of States. The control which, with Florida Point, this island would give us over the Gulf of Mexico, and the countries and isthmus bordering on it, as well as all those whose waters flow into it, would fill up the measure of our political well-being. Yet, as I am sensible that this can never be obtained, even with her own consent, but by war; and its independence, which is our second interest (and especially its independence of England), can be secured without it, I have no hesitation in abandoning my first wish to future chances, and accepting its independence, with peace and the friendship of England, rather than its association, at the expense of war and her enmity. (To James Monroe, 1823. C. VII., 316.)

CUBA.—Cuba alone seems at present to hold up a speck of war to us. Its possession by Great Britain would indeed be a great calamity to us. Could we induce her to join us in guar-

anteeing its independence against all the world, except Spain, it would be nearly as valuable to us as if it were our own. But should she take it, I would not immediately go to war for it; because the first war on other accounts will give it to us; or the island will give itself to us, when able to do so. (To James Monroe, 1823. C. VII., 288.)

DEBT.—Whether one generation of men has a right to bind another is a question of such consequence as not only to merit decision, but place also, among the fundamental principles of every government. That no such obligation can be transmitted I think very capable of proof. I set out on this ground which I suppose to be self-evident: that the earth belongs in usufruct to the living, that the dead have neither right nor power over it. The portion occupied by any individual ceases to be his when himself ceases to be, and reverts to the society. If the society has formed no rules for the appropriation of its lands in severalty, it will be taken by the first occupants. These will generally be the wife and children of the decedent. If they have formed rules of appropriation, those rules may give it to the wife and children, or to some of them, or to the legatee of the deceased. So they may give it to his creditors. But the child, the legatee or creditor take it, not by any natural right, but by a law of the society of which they are members, and to which they are subject. Then no man can by natural right oblige the lands he occupied, or the persons who succeed him in that occupation, to the payment of debts contracted by him. For if he could, he might during his own life eat up the usufruct of the lands for several generations to come, and then the lands would belong to the dead and not to the living which is the reverse of the principle. What is true of every member of the society individually, is true of them all collectively, since the rights of the whole can be no more than the sum of the rights of individuals. Then no generation can contract debts greater than may be paid during the course of its own existence. * * * Nineteen years is the term beyond which neither the representatives of a nation nor even the whole nation itself, can validly extend a

debt. (Written to James Madison from Paris, 1789. F. V., 116.)

DEBT, NATIONAL.—We are ruined, Sir, if we do not overrule the principles that "the more we owe, the more prosperous we shall be," that a public debt furnishes the means of enterprise, that if ours should be once paid off, we should incur another by any means however extravagant, etc. (From a letter to James Madison, 1791. F. V., 320.)

DEBT, PUBLIC.—There can never be a fear but that the paper which represents the public debt will be ever sacredly good. The public faith is bound for this, and no change of system will ever be permitted to touch this. The evidences of the public debt are solid and sacred. I presume there is not a man in the United States who would not part with his last shilling to pay them. (To William Short, 1792. F. V., 460.)

DEBT, PUBLIC.—A further assumption of State debts has been proposed by the Secretary of the Treasury, which has been rejected by a small majority: but the chickens of the treasury have so many contrivances and are so indefatigable within doors and without, that we all fear that they will get it in yet some way or other. As the doctrine is that a public debt is a public blessing, so they think a perpetual one is a perpetual blessing and therefore wish to make it so large that we can never pay it off. (To Nicholas Lewis, 1792. F. V., 505.)

DEBT, PUBLIC.—My whole correspondence while in France, and every word and letter and act on the subject since my return prove that no man is more ardently intent to see the public debt soon and sacredly paid off than I am. This exactly marks the difference between Colonel Hamilton's views and mine, that I would wish the debt paid to-morrow; he wishes it never to be paid, but always to be a thing wherewith to corrupt and manage the Legislature. (To Washington, 1792. F. VI., 105.)

DEBT, PUBLIC.—I consider the fortunes of our republic as depending, in an imminent degree, on the extinguishment of the public debt before we engage in any war; because, that done, we shall have revenue enough to improve our country

in peace and defend it in war without recurring to new taxes or loans. But if the debt should once more be swelled to a formidable size, its entire discharge will be despaired of, and we shall be committed to the English career of debt, corruption and rottenness, closing with revolution. The discharge of the debt, therefore, is vital to the destinies of our government. (To Albert Gallatin, 1809. C. V., 477.)

✓ DEBT, PUBLIC.—It is a wise rule, and should be fundamental in a government disposed to cherish its credit, and at the same time to restrain the use of it within the limits of its faculties, "never to borrow a dollar without laying a tax in the same instant for paying the interest annually, and the principal within a given term; and to consider that tax as pledged to the creditors on the public faith." On such a pledge as this, sacredly observed, a government may always command, on a reasonable interest, all the lendable money of its citizens, while the necessity of an equivalent tax is a salutary warning to them and their constituents against oppressions, bankruptcy, and its inevitable consequence, revolution. But the term of redemption must be moderate, and at any rate within the limits of their rightful powers. But what limits, it will be asked, does this prescribe to their powers? What is to hinder them from creating a perpetual debt? The laws of nature, I answer. The earth belongs to the living, not to the dead. The will and the power of man expire with his life, by nature's law. Some societies give it an artificial continuance, for the encouragement of industry; some refuse it, as our aboriginal neighbors, whom we call barbarians. The generations of men may be considered as bodies or corporations. Each generation has the usufruct of the earth during the period of its continuance. When it ceases to exist, the usufruct passes on to the succeeding generation, free and unencumbered, and so on, successively, from one generation to another forever. We may consider each generation as a distinct nation, with a right, by the will of its majority, to bind themselves, but none to bind the succeeding generation, more than the inhabitants of another country. Or the case may be likened to the ordinary one of a tenant for life, who

may hypothecate the land for his debts, during the continuance of his usufruct; but at his death, the reversioner (who is also for life only) receives it exonerated from all burthen. The period of a generation, or the term of its life, is determined by the laws of mortality, which, varying a little only in different climates, offer a general average, to be found by observation. I turn, for instance, to Buffon's tables, of twenty-three thousand nine hundred and ninety-four deaths, and the ages at which they happened, and I find that of the numbers of all ages living at one moment, half will be dead in twenty-four years and eight months. But (leaving out minors, who have not the power of self-government) of the adults (of twenty-one years of age) living at one moment, a majority of whom act for the society, one-half will be dead in eighteen years and eight months. At nineteen years then from the date of a contract, the majority of the contractors are dead, and their contract with them. Let this general theory be applied to a particular case. Suppose the annual births of the State of New York to be twenty-three thousand nine hundred and ninety-four, the whole number of its inhabitants, according to Buffon, will be six hundred and seventeen thousand seven hundred and three, of all ages. Of these there would constantly be two hundred and sixty-nine thousand two hundred and eighty-six minors, and three hundred and forty-eight thousand four hundred and seventeen adults, of which last, one hundred and seventy-four thousand two hundred and nine will be a majority. Suppose that majority, on the first day of the year 1794, had borrowed a sum of money equal to the fee-simple value of the State, and to have consumed it in eating and drinking and making merry in their day; or, if you please, in quarreling and fighting with their unoffending neighbors. Within eighteen years and eight months, one-half of the adult citizens were dead. Till then, being the majority, they might rightfully levy the interest of their debt annually on themselves and their fellow-revellers, or fellow-champions. But, at that period, say at this moment, a new majority have come into place, in their own right, and not under the rights, the conditions, or laws of their predecessors. Are they bound

to acknowledge the debt, to consider the preceding generation as having had a right to eat up the whole soil of their country, in the course of a life, to alienate it from them (for it would be an alienation to the creditors), and would they think themselves either legally or morally bound to give up their country and emigrate to another for subsistence? Every one will say no; that the soil is the gift of God to the living, as much as it had been to the deceased generation; and that the laws of nature impose no obligation on them to pay this debt. And although, like some other natural rights, this has not yet entered into any declaration of rights, it is no less a law, and ought to be acted on by honest governments. It is, at the same time, a salutary curb on the spirit of war and indebtment, which, since the modern theory of the perpetuation of debt, has drenched the earth with blood, and crushed its inhabitants under burthens ever accumulating. Had this principle been declared in the British bill of rights, England would have been placed under the happy disability of waging eternal war, and of contracting her thousand millions of public debt. In seeking, then, for an ultimate term for the redemption of our debts, let us rally to this principle, and provide for their payment within the term of nineteen years at the farthest. (To J. W. Eppes, 1813. C. VI., 136-138.)

Democracy.—The influence over government must be shared by all the people. If every individual which composes their mass participates of the ultimate authority, the government will be safe; because the corrupting the whole mass will exceed any private resources of wealth; and public ones cannot be provided but by levies on the whole people. In this case every man would have to pay his own price. * * * It has been thought that corruption is restrained by confining the right of suffrage to a few of the wealthier people; but it would be more effectually restrained by an extension of that right to such numbers as would bid defiance to means of corruption. (From "Notes on Virginia," 1782. F. III., 255.)

Democracy.—There is a snail-paced gait for the advance of new ideas in the general mind, under which we must acquiesce.

A forty years' experience of popular assemblies has taught me that you must give them time for every step they take. If too hard pushed they balk, and the machine retrogrades. (To Joel Barlow, 1807. C. V., 217.)

DEMOCRACY.—We of the United States, you know, are constitutionally and conscientiously Democrats. We consider society as one of the natural wants with which man has been created; that he has been endowed with faculties and qualities to effect its satisfaction by occurrence of others having the same want; that when, by the exercise of these faculties, he has procured a state of society, it is one of his acquisitions which he has a right to regulate and control, jointly indeed with all those who have concurred in the procurement, whom he cannot exclude from its use or direction more than they him. We think experience has proved it safer, for the mass of individuals composing the society, to reserve to themselves personally the exercise of all rightful powers to which they are competent, and to delegate those to which they are not competent to deputies named, and removable for unfaithful conduct, by themselves immediately. Hence, with us, the people (by which is meant the mass of individuals composing the society) being competent to judge of the facts occurring in ordinary life, they have retained the functions to judges of facts, under the name of jurors; but being unqualified for the management of affairs requiring intelligence above the common level, yet competent judges of human character, they chose, for their management, representatives, some by themselves immediately, others by electors chosen by themselves. Thus our President is chosen by ourselves, directly in practice, for we vote for A as elector only on the condition he will vote for B, our representative by ourselves immediately, our Senate and judges of law through electors chosen by ourselves. And we believe that this proximate choice and power of removal is the best security which experience has sanctioned for ensuring an honest conduct in the functionaries of society. (To Dupont de Nemours, 1816. C. VI., 589.)

DEMOCRACY.—The introduction of this new principle of representative Democracy has rendered useless almost everything

written before on the structure of government; and, in a great measure, relieves our regret, if the political writings of Aristotle, or of any other ancient, have been lost, or are unfaithfully rendered or explained to us. My most earnest wish is to see the Republican element of popular control pushed to the maximum of its practicable exercise. I shall then believe that our Government may be pure and perpetual. (To Isaac H. Tiffany, 1816. C. VII., 32.)

DEVICE.—A proper device (instead of arms) for the American States would be the father presenting the bundle of rods to his son, with the motto,

"Insuperabiles si inseparabiles."

(Proposed arms for the United States, interesting as being the earliest reference to the "American States." Written in Jefferson's copy of the Virginia Almanac for 1774.)

DISSENSION.—Political dissension is doubtless a less evil than the lethargy of despotism, but still it is a great evil, and it would be as worthy the efforts of the patriot as of the philosopher to exclude its influence if possible from social life. The good are rare enough at best. There is no reason to sub-divide them by artificial lines. But whether we shall ever be able to perfect the principles of society as that political opinions shall be as inoffensive as those of philosophy, mechanics, or any other may well be doubted. (From a letter to Thomas Pinckney, 1792. F. VII., 128.)

DISUNION, DANGER OF.—I can scarcely contemplate a more incalculable evil than the breaking of the Union into two or more parts. Yet when we review the mass which opposed the original coalescence, when we consider that it lay chiefly in the Southern quarter, that the Legislature have availed themselves of no occasion of allaying it, whenever Northern and Southern prejudices have come into conflict, the latter have been sacrificed and the former soothed; that the owners of the debt are in the Southern and the holders of it in the Northern division; that the anti-federal champions are now strengthened in argument by the fulfilment of their predictions, that this has been brought about by the Monarchical Federalists themselves, who,

having been for the new government merely as a stepping stone to monarchy, have themselves adopted the very constructions of the Constitution of which, when advocating its acceptance before the tribunal of the people, they declared it insusceptible: that the Republican Federalists, who espoused the same government for its intrinsic merits, are disarmed of their weapons, that which they deemed as prophecy being now become true history; who can be sure that these things may not proselyte the small number which was wanting to place the majority on the other side? And this is the event at which I tremble, and to prevent which I consider your continuance at the head of affairs as of the last importance. The confidence of the whole Union is centered in you. Your being at the helm will be more than an answer to every argument which can be used to alarm and lead the people in any quarter into violence or secession. North and South will hang together if they have you to hang on. (To Washington, 1792. F. VI., 5.)

Drunkenness.—I think drunkenness is much more common in all the American States than in France. But it is less common there than in England. You may form an idea from this of the state of it in America. (Written from Paris, 1786. F. IV., 282.)

Duelling.—Whosoever committeth murder by way of duel, shall suffer death by hanging; and if he were the challenger, his body after death, shall be gibbetted. (From a bill relating to crimes and punishments, 1779. F. II., 207.)

Duties.—I am much pleased to see that you have taken up the subject of the duty on imported books. I hope a crusade will be kept up against it, until those in power shall become sensible of this stain on our legislation, and shall wipe it from their code and from the remembrance of men, if possible. (To Jared Sparks, 1824. C. VII., 335.)

Economy.—When we consider that this government is charged with the external and mutual relations only of these States; that the States themselves have principal care of persons, our property, and our reputation, constituting the great field of human concerns, we may well doubt whether our organiza-

tion is not too complicated, too expensive; whether offices or officers have not been multiplied unnecessarily, and sometimes injuriously to the service they were meant to promote. I will cause to be laid before you an essay toward a statement of those who, under public employment of various kinds, drew money from the treasury or from our citizens. Time has not permitted a perfect enumeration, the ramifications of office being too multiplied and remote to be completely traced in a first trial. Among those who are dependent on executive discretion, I have begun the reduction of what was deemed necessary. The expenses of diplomatic agency have been considerably diminished. The inspectors of internal revenue who were found to obstruct the accountability of the institution, have been discontinued. Several agencies created by executive authority, on salaries fixed by that also, have been suppressed, and should suggest the expediency of regulating that power by law, so as to subject its exercises to legislative inspection and sanction. * * * Considering the general tendency to multiply offices and dependencies, and to increase expense to the ultimate term of burden which the citizen can bear, it behooves us to avail ourselves of every occasion which presents itself for taking off the surcharge; that it may never be seen here that, after leaving to labor the smallest portion of its earnings on which it can subsist, Government shall itself consume the residue of what it was instituted to guard. (From first Annual Message, 1801. F. VIII., 120.)

Education.—At every of these schools, district or hundred, shall be taught reading, writing, and common arithmetic, and the books which shall be used therein for instructing the children to read shall be such as will at the same time make them acquainted with Grecian, Roman, English, and American history. At these schools all the free children male and female, resident within the respective hundred shall be entitled to receive tuition gratis, for the term of three years, and as much longer, at their private expense, as their parents, guardians, or friends shall think proper. (From a bill for the Diffusion of Knowledge, 1779. F. II., 223.)

EDUCATION.—It is generally true that people will be happiest where laws are best administered, and that laws will be wisely formed, and honestly administered, in proportion as those who form and administer them are wise and honest; whence it becomes expedient for promoting public happiness that those persons, whom nature hath endowed with genius and virtue, should be rendered by liberal education worthy to receive, and able to guard, the sacred deposit of the rights and liberties of their fellow citizens, and that they should be called to that charge without regard to wealth, birth or other accidental circumstance; but the indigence of the greater number disabling them from so educating, at their own expense, those of their children whom nature hath fitly formed and disposed to become useful instruments for the public, it is better that such should be sought for and educated at the common expense of all, than that the happiness of all should be confined to the weak or wicked. (From a bill for the Diffusion of Knowledge, 1779. F. II., 221.)

EDUCATION.—Instead, therefore, of putting the Bible and Testament into the hands of children at an age when their judgments are not sufficiently matured for religious inquiries, their memories may here be stored with the most useful facts from Grecian, Roman, European, and American history. The first element of morality too may be instilled into their minds; such as may teach them how to work out their greatest happiness, by showing them that it does not depend on the condition of life in which chance has placed them, but is always the result of a good conscience, good health, occupation, and freedom in all just pursuits. (From "Notes on Virginia," 1782. F. III., 253.)

EDUCATION.—The learning Greek and Latin, I am told, is going into disuse in Europe. I know not what their manners and occupations may call for; but it would be very ill-judged in us to follow their example in this instance. There is a certain period of life, say from eight to fifteen or sixteen years of age, when the mind, like the body, is not yet firm enough for laborious and close operations. * * * The memory is then

most susceptible and tenacious of impressions; and the learning of languages being chiefly a work of memory, it seems precisely fitted to the power of this period, which is long enough, too, for acquiring the most useful languages, ancient and modern. (From "Notes on Virginia," 1782. F. III., 253.)

EDUCATION.—By that part of our plan which prescribes the selection of the youths of genius from among the classes of the poor, we hope to avail the State of those talents which nature has sown so liberally among the poor as the rich, but which perish without use, if not sought for and cultivated. (From "Notes on Virginia," 1782. F. III., 254.)

EDUCATION.—But why send an American youth to Europe for education? What are the objects of useful American education? Classical knowledge, modern languages, chiefly French, Spanish and Italian, mathematics, natural philosophy, natural history, civil history, and ethics. In natural philosophy I mean to include chemistry and agriculture, and in natural history, to include botany, as well as other branches of these departments. It is true that the habit of speaking the modern languages cannot be so well acquired in America; but every other article can be as well acquired at William and Mary College as at any place in Europe. When college education is done with and a young man is to prepare himself for public life, he must cast his eyes (for America) either on law or physics. For the former where can he apply so advantageously as to Mr. Wythe? For the latter he must come to Europe; the medical class of students, therefore, is the only one which need come to Europe. Let us view the disadvantages of sending a youth to Europe. To enumerate them all would require a volume. I will select a few. If he goes to Europe he learns drinking, horse-racing and boxing. These are the peculiarities of English education. The following circumstances are common to education in that and the other countries of Europe. He acquires a fondness for European luxury and dissipation, and a contempt for the simplicity of his own country; he is fascinated with the privileges of the European aristocrats, and sees with abhorrence the lowly equality which the poor enjoy with the rich in his own

country; he contracts a partiality for aristocracy or monarchy; he forms foreign friendships which will never be useful to him, and loses the seasons of life for forming in his own country those friendships which of all others, are the most faithful and permanent; he is led by the strongest of all human passions into a spirit for female intrigue, destructive of his own and others' happiness, or a passion for whores, destructive of his health, and in both cases, learns to consider fidelity to the marriage bed as an ungentlemanly practice and inconsistent with happiness; he recollects the voluptuary dress and acts of the European women, and pities and despises the chaste affections and simplicity of those of his own country; he retains through life a fond recollection and a hankering after those places which were the scenes of his first pleasures and of his first connections; he returns to his own country a foreigner, unacquainted with the practices of domestic economy necessary to preserve him from ruin, speaking and writing his native tongue as a foreigner and therefore unqualified to obtain those distinctions which eloquence of the pen and tongue ensures in a free country; for I would observe to you that what is called style in writing or speaking is formed very early in life, while the imagination is warm and impressions are permanent. I am of the opinion that there never was an instance of a man's writing or speaking his native tongue with eloquence who passed from fifteen to twenty years of age out of the country where it was spoken. Then no instance exists of a person writing two languages perfectly. That will always appear to be his native language which was most familiar to him in his youth. It appears to me, then, that an American coming to Europe for education loses in his knowledge, in his morals, in his health, in his habits and in his happiness. (To J. Banister, 1785. C. I., 467.)

EDUCATION.—If all the sovereigns of Europe were to set themselves to work to emancipate the minds of their subjects from their present ignorance and prejudices, and that as zealously as they now endeavor to the contrary, a thousand years would not place them on that high ground on which our common people are now setting out. Ours could not have been so fairly

put into the hands of their own common sense had they not been separated from their parent stock and kept from contamination, either from them, or the other people of the old world, by the intervention of so wide an ocean. I think by far the most important bill in our whole code is that for the diffusion of knowledge among the people. No other sure foundation can be devised for the preservation of freedom and happiness. * * * Preach, my dear sir, a crusade against ignorance; establish and improve the law for educating the common people. Let our countrymen know that the people alone can protect us against those evils, and that the tax which will be paid for this purpose is not more than the thousandth part of what will be paid to kings, priests, and nobles who will rise up among us if we leave the people in ignorance. (Written from Paris to George Wythe, 1786. F. IV., 268.)

EDUCATION.—The foundations you have laid in languages and mathematics are proper for every superstructure. The former exercises our memory while that and no other faculty is yet matured and prevents our acquiring habits of idleness. The latter gives exercise to our reason, as soon as that has acquired a certain degree of strength, and stores the mind with truths which are useful in other branches of science. At this moment then a second order of preparation is to commence. I shall propose to you that be extensive, comprehending astronomy, natural philosophy (or physics), natural history, anatomy, botany and chemistry. No inquisitive mind will be content to be ignorant of any of these branches. (To Thomas Mann Randolph, Jr., 1786. F. IV., 290.)

EDUCATION.—Above all things I hope the education of the common people will be attended to; convinced that on their good sense we may rely with the most security for the preservation of a due degree of liberty. (To James Madison, 1787. F. IV., 480.)

EDUCATION.—In truth if anything could ever induce me to sleep another night out of my own house it would have been * * * my solicitude for the education of our youth. I do most anxiously wish to see the highest degrees of education

given to the highest degrees of genius, and to all degrees of it, so much as may enable them to read and understand what is going on in the world, and to keep their part of it going on right; for nothing can keep it right but their own vigilant and distrustful superintendence. (To Mann Page, 1795. F. VII., 24.)

EDUCATION.—About twenty years ago I drew up a bill for our legislature which proposed to lay off every county into hundreds or townships of five or six miles square in the centre of each of which was to be a free English school; the whole State was further laid off into ten districts in each of which was to be a college for teaching two languages, geography, surveying and other useful things of that grade; and then a single university for the sciences. (To Joseph Priestly, 1800. F. VII., 414.)

EDUCATION.—I look to the diffusion of light and education as the resource most to be relied on for ameliorating the condition, promoting the virtue, and advancing the happiness of man. That every man shall be made virtuous, by any process whatever, is, indeed, no more to be expected, than that every tree shall be made to bear fruit, and every plant nourishment. The brier and the bramble can never become the vine and the olive; but their asperities may be softened by culture, and their properties improved to usefulness in the order and economy of the world. (To C. C. Blatchley, 1822. C. VII., 263.)

EDUCATION.—I am now entirely absorbed in endeavors to effect the establishment of a general system of education in my native State on the triple basis (1) of elementary schools which shall give to the children of every citizen gratis competent instruction in reading, writing, common arithmetic and general geography. (2) Collegiate institutions for ancient and modern languages, for higher instruction in arithmetic, geography and history, placing for this purpose a college within a day's ride of every inhabitant of the State and adding a provision for the full education at the public expense of select subjects from among the children of the poor who shall have exhibited at the elementary schools the most pronounced indication of aptness of judgment and correct disposition. (3) An university

in which all the branches of science deemed useful at this day shall be taught in their highest degree. This would probably require ten or twelve professors for most of whom we shall be obliged to apply to Europe, and most likely to Edinburg. * * * This establishment will most probably be within a mile of Charlottesville and four from Monticello if the system should be adopted at all by our Legislature who meet within a week from this time. My hopes, however, are kept in check by the ordinary character of our State Legislature, the members of which do not generally possess information enough to perceive the important truths that knowledge is power, that knowledge is safety and that knowledge is happiness. (To George Tickner, 1817. F. X., 96.)

ELECTION OF PRESIDENT.—I have been above all things solaced by the prospect which opened on us in the event of a non-election of a President; in which case the Federal Government would have been in the situation of a clock or watch run down. There was no idea of force, nor of any occasion for it. A convention invited by the Republican members of Congress with the virtual President and Vice-President would have been on the ground in eight weeks and would have repaired the Constitution where it was defective, and wound it up again. This peaceable and legitimate resource, to which we are in the habit of implicit obedience superseding all appeal to force and being always within our reach, shows a precious principle of self-preservation in our composition, till a change of circumstances shall take place which is not within prospect of any definite period. (To Joseph Priestly, 1801. F. VIII., 22.)

ELECTIONS.—From a very early period of my life I determined never to intermeddle with elections of the people, and have invariably adhered to this determination. In my own county, where there have been so many elections in which my inclinations were enlisted, I yet never interfered. (From a letter to Chas. Clay, 1792. F. VI., 111.)

ELECTIONS.—I proposed soon after coming into office to enjoin the executive officers from intermeddling with elections as inconsistent with the true principles of our Constitution. It

was laid over for consideration; but late occurrences prove the propriety of it, and it is now under consideration. (To De Witt Clinton, 1804. F. VIII., 322.)

ELECTIONS, CONGRESSIONAL.—On the subject of an election by a general ticket, or by districts, most persons here seem to have made up their minds. All agree that an election by districts would be best, if it could be general; but while ten States choose either by their legislatures or by a general ticket, it is folly and worse than folly for the other six not to do it. (To James Monroe, 1800. F. VII., 401.)

EMANCIPATION.—I concur entirely in your leading principles of gradual emancipation, of establishment on the coast of Africa, and the patronage of our Nation until the emigrants shall be able to protect themselves. The subordinate detail might be easily arranged. But the bare proposition of purchase by the United States generally, would excite infinite indignation in all the States north of Maryland. The sacrifice must fall on the States alone which hold them; and the difficult question will be how to lessen this so as to reconcile our fellow citizens to it. Personally I am ready and desirous to make any sacrifice which shall ensure their gradual but complete retirement from the State, and effectually at the same time, establish them elsewhere in freedom and safety. But I have not perceived the growth of this disposition in the rising generation, of which I once had sanguine hopes. (To Dr. Thomas Humphreys, 1817. C. VII., 57.)

EMANCIPATION.—See Slavery.

EMBARGO.—It is true that the embargo laws have not had all the effect in bringing the powers of Europe to a sense of justice which a more faithful observance of them might have produced. Yet they have had the important effects of saving our seamen and property, of giving time to prepare for defense; and they will produce the further inestimable advantage of turning the attention and enterprise of our fellow citizens, and the patronage of our State Legislatures to the establishment of useful manufactures in our country. They will have hastened the day when an equilibrium between the occupations of agriculture,

manufacture and commerce shall simplify our foreign concerns to the exchange only of that surplus which we cannot consume for those articles of reasonable comfort or convenience which we cannot produce. (To a Democratic Delegation, 1809. C. VIII., 163.)

ENGLAND.—Our people and merchants must consider their business as not yet settled with England. After exercising the self-denial which was requisite to carry us through the war they must push it a little further to obtain proper peace arrangements with them. They can do it all the better as all the world is open to them; and it is very extraordinary if the whole world besides cannot supply them with what they want. I think it essential to exclude them from the carriage of American produce. (Written from Paris to James Monroe, 1785. F. IV., 40.)

ENGLAND.—In spite of treaties, England is still our enemy. Her hatred is deep rooted and cordial, and nothing is wanted with her but the power to wipe us and the land we live on out of existence. Her interest, however, is her ruling passion; and the late American measures have struck at that so vitally, and with an energy, too, of which she thought us quite incapable, that a possibility seems to open of forming some arrangement with her when they shall see decidedly, that, without it we shall suppress their commerce with us, they will be agitated by their avarice, on the one hand, and their hatred and their fear of us on the other. The result of this conflict of dirty passion is yet to be awaited. The body of people of this country love us cordially, but ministers and merchants love nobody. The merchants here are endeavoring to exclude us from their islands. The ministers will be governed in it by political motives, and will do it or not do it, as these shall appear to dictate, without love or hatred to anybody. (To John Langdon, 1785. C. I., 429.)

ENGLAND.—I returned but three or four days ago from a two months trip to England. I traversed that country much, and own both town and country fell short of my expectations. Comparing it with this [France] I found a much greater proportion

of barrens, a soil in other parts not naturally so good as this, nor better cultivated. This proceeds from the practice of long leases there, and short ones here. The laboring people here are poorer than in England. They pay but one-half their produce in rent, the English in general about a third. The gardening in that country is the article in which it surpasses all the earth, I mean their pleasure gardening. This indeed went far beyond my ideas. The city of London, though handsomer than Paris, is not so handsome as Philadelphia. Their architecture is the most wretched style I ever saw, not meaning to except America where it is bad, nor even Virginia where it is worse than in any other part I have seen. England hates us, their ministers hate us, and their King more than all other men. (To John Page, written in Paris, 1786. F. IV., 214.)

ENGLAND.—I consider the English as our natural enemies and the only nation on earth who wish us ill from the bottom of their souls. And I am satisfied that were our continent to be swallowed up by the ocean, Great Britain would be a bonfire from one end to the other. (To William Carmichael, written in Paris, 1787. F. IV., 470.)

ENGLAND.—When we take notice that theirs (England) is the workshop to which we go for all we want; that with them center either immediately or ultimately all the labors of our hands and lands; that to them belong either openly or secretly the great mass of our navigation; that even the factorage of their affairs here is kept to themselves by factitious citizenship; that these foreign and false citizens now constitute the great body of what are called our merchants, fill our seaports, are planted in every little town and district of the interior country, sway everything in the former places by their own votes, and those of their dependents in the latter by their insinuations and their letters; that they are advancing fast to a monopoly of our bank and public funds, and thereby placing our public finances under their control; that they have in their alliance the most influential characters in and out of office; when they have shown that by all these bearings on the different branches of government they can force it to proceed in whatever direction they

dictate, and bend the interests of this country entirely to the will of another; when all this, I say, is attended to, it is impossible for us to say we stand on independent ground, impossible for a free mind not to see and to groan under the bondage in which it is bound. (To Elbridge Gerry, 1797. F. VII., 121.)

ENGLAND.—Our successors have deserved well of their country in meeting so readily the first friendly advance ever made to us by England. I hope it is the harbinger of a return to the exercise of common sense and common good humor, with a country with which mutual interests would urge a mutual and affectionate intercourse. But her conduct hitherto has been towards us so insulting, so tyrannical and so malicious, as to indicate a contempt for our opinions or dispositions respecting her. I hope she is now coming over to a wiser conduct, and becoming sensible how much better it is to cultivate the good will of the government itself, than of a faction hostile to it; to obtain its friendship gratis than to purchase its enmity by nourishing at great expense a faction to embarrass it, to receive the reward of an honest policy rather than of a corrupt and vexatious one. I trust she has at length opened her eyes to Federal falsehood and misinformation, and learnt in the issue of the presidential election, the folly of believing them. Such a reconciliation to the government, if real and permanent, will secure the tranquillity of our country, and render the management of our affairs easy and delightful to our successors, for whom I feel as much interest as if I were still in their place. Certainly all the trouble and difficulties in the government during our time proceeded from England; at least all others were trifling in comparison with them. (To General Dearborne, 1809. C. V., 455.)

ENGLAND.—The nature of the English unfits them for the observation of moral duties. In the first place her King is a cypher; his only function being to name the oligarchy which is to govern her. The Parliament is, by corruption, the mere instrument of the will of the administration. The real power and property in the government is in the great aristocratical families of the nation. The nest of office being too small for all of them to cuddle into at once, the contest is eternal, which

shall crowd the other out. For this purpose, they are divided into two parties, the Ins and the Outs, so equal in weight that a small matter turns the balance. To keep themselves in, every stratagem must be practiced, every artifice used, which may flatter the pride, the passion or power of the nation. Justice, honor, faith must yield to the necessity of keeping themselves in place. The question whether a measure is moral, is never asked; but whether it will nourish the avarice of their merchants, or the piratical spirit of their navy, or produce any other effect which may strengthen them in their places. As to engagements, however positive, entered into by the predecessors of the Ins, why, they were enemies, they did everything which was wrong; and to reverse everything which they did, must, therefore, be right. This is the true character of the English Government in practice, however different its theory; and it presents the singular phenomenon of a nation, the individuals of which are as faithful to their private engagements and duties, as honorable, as worthy, as those of any nation on earth, and whose government is yet the most unprincipled at this day known. (To Governor Langdon, 1810. C. V., 513.)

ENGLAND.—But what is to restore order and safety on the ocean? The death of George III? Not at all. He is only stupid; and his ministers, however weak and profligate in morals, are ephemeral. But this nation is permanent, and it is that which is the tyrant of the ocean. The principle that force is right, is become the principle of the nation itself. They would not permit an honest minister, were accident to bring such an one into power, to relax their system of lawless piracy. (To Caesar Rodney, 1810. C. V., 501.)

ENGLAND.—The fate of England, I think with you, is nearly decided, and the present form of her existence is drawing to a close. The ground, the houses, the men will remain; but in what new form they will revive and stand among nations, is beyond the reach of human foresight. We hope it may be one of which the predatory principle may not be the essential characteristic. If her transformation shall replace her under the laws of moral order, it is for the general interest that she

should still be a sensible and independent weight in the scale of nations, and be able to contribute, when a favorable moment presents itself, to reduce to the same order, her great rival in flagitiousness. We especially ought to pray that the powers of Europe may be so poised and counterpoised among themselves, that their own safety may require the presence of all the force at home, leaving the other quarters of the globe in undisturbed tranquillity. When our strength will permit us to give the law of our hemisphere, it should be that the meridian of the mid-Atlantic should be the line of demarkation between war and peace, on this side of which no act of hostility should be committed, and the lion and the lamb shall lie down in peace together. (To Dr. Crawford, 1812. C. VI., 33.)

ENGLAND.—But the English Government never dies, because the King is no part of it; he is a mere formality, and the real government is the aristocracy of the country, for the House of Commons is of that class. Their aim is to claim the dominion of the ocean by conquest, and to make every vessel navigating it pay a tribute to the support of the fleet necessary to maintain that dominion, to which their own resources are inadequate. I see no means of terminating their maritime dominion and tyranny but in their own bankruptcy, which I hope is approaching. (To Dr. Brown, 1813. C. VI., 165.)

ENGLAND.—There is not a nation on the globe with whom I have more earnestly wished a friendly intercourse on equal conditions. On no other would I hold out the hand of friendship to any. I know that their creatures represent me as personally an enemy to England. But fools can only think this, or those who think me a fool. I am an enemy to her insults and injuries. I am an enemy to the flagitious principles of her administration, and to those who govern her conduct towards other nations. But would she give to morality some place in the political code, and especially would she exercise decency, and at least neutral passions towards us, there is not, I repeat it, a people on earth with whom I would sacrifice so much to be in friendship. (To Caesar Rodney, 1815. C. VI., 449.)

ENGLAND.—I hope in God her government will come to a sense of this, and will see that honesty and interest are as intimately connected in the public as in the private code of morality. Her ministers have been weak enough to believe from the newspapers that Mr. Madison and myself are personally her enemies. Such an idea is unworthy a man of sense; as we should have been unworthy our trusts could we have felt such a motive of public action. No two men in the United States have more sincerely wished for cordial friendship with her; not as her vassals or dirty partisans, but as members of co-equal states, respecting each other; and sensible of the good as well as the harm each is capable of doing the other. On this ground there never was a moment we did not wish to embrace her. But repelled by their aversions, feeling their hatred at every point of contact and justly indignant at its supercilious manifestations, that happened which has happened, that will follow, must follow, in progressive ratio, while such dispositions continue to be indulged. I hope they will see this, and do their part towards healing the minds and cooling the temper of both nations. (To Mr. Murray, 1815. C. VI., 468.)

THE ENGLISH.—As a political man they, the English, shall never find any passion in me either for or against them. Whenever their avarice of commerce will let them meet us fairly half-way, I should meet them with satisfaction, because it would be for our benefit; but I mistake their character if they do this under present circumstances. (To Francis Kinloch, 1790. F. V., 249.)

ENGLISH CHARACTER.—I fancy it must be the quantity of animal food eaten by the English which renders their character insusceptible to civilization. I suspect it is in their kitchens and not in their churches that their reformation must be worked, and that missionaries of that description from hence would avail more than those who should endeavor to tame them by precepts of religion or philosophy. (Written from Paris to Mrs. John Adams, 1785. F. IV., 100.)

EPICURUS.—As you say of yourself, I too am an Epicurean. I consider the genuine (not the imputed) doctrines of Epicurus

as containing everything rational in moral philosophy which Greece and Rome have left us. Epictetus, indeed, has given us what was good of the Stoics; all beyond, of their dogmas, being hypocrisy and grimace. Their great crime was in their calumnies of Epicurus and misrepresentation of his doctrines. * * * But the greatest of all reformers of the depraved religion of his own country, was Jesus of Nazareth. Abstracting what is really his from the rubbish in which it is buried, easily distinguished by its lustre from the dross of his biographers, and as separable from that as the diamond from the dunghill, we have the outlines of a system of the most sublime morality which has fallen from the lips of man; outlines which it is lamentable he did not fill up. Epictetus and Epicurus give laws for governing ourselves, Jesus a supplement of the duties and charities we owe to others. (To Mr. Short, 1819. C. VII., 138.)

Equity Courts.—Relieve the judges from the rigour of text law, and permit them, with praetorian discretion to wander into its equity, and the whole legal system becomes uncertain. This has been its fate in every country where the fixed and discretionary laws have been committed into the same hands. It is probable that the singular certainty with which justice has been administered in England has been the consequence of their distribution into two distinct departments. (Written from Paris to Philip Mazzei, 1785. F. IV., 115.)

Etiquette.—I. In order to bring the members of society together in the first instance, the custom of the country has established that residents shall pay the first visit to strangers; and, among strangers, first comers to later comers, foreign and domestic; the character of strangers ceasing after the first visit. To this rule there is a single exception. Foreign ministers, from the necessity of making themselves known, pay the first visit to the ministers of the nation, which is returned.

II. When brought together in society, all are perfectly equal, whether foreign or domestic, titled or untitled, in or out of office.

All other observances are but exemplifications of these two principles.

I. 1st. The families of foreign ministers, arriving at the seat of government, receive the first visit from those of the national ministers, as from all the residents.

2d. Members of the Legislature and of the Judiciary, independent of their offices, have a right as strangers to receive the first visit.

II. 1st. No titles being admitted here, those of foreigners give no precedence.

2d. Differences of grade among diplomatic members, give no precedence.

3d. At public ceremonies, to which the government invites the presence of foreign ministers and their families, a convenient seat or station will be provided for them, with any other strangers invited and the families of the national ministers, each taking place as they arrive, and without precedence.

4th. To retain the principle of equality, or of *pele-mele,* and prevent the growth of precedence out of courtesy, the members of the Executive will practice at their own houses, and recommend an adherence to the ancient usage of the country, gentlemen in mass giving precedence to the ladies in mass, in passing from one apartment where they are assembled into another. (From a Manuscript, 1803. F. VIII., 276.)

The Executive.—The failure of the French Directory, and from the same cause, seems to have authorized a belief that the form of a plurality, however promising in theory, is impracticable with men constituted with the ordinary passions. While the tranquil and steady tenor of our single executive, during a course of twenty-two years of the most tempestuous times the history of the world has ever presented, gives a rational hope that this important problem is at length solved. Aided by the counsels of a cabinet, of heads of departments, originally four, but now five, with whom the President consults, either singly or altogether, he has the benefit of their wisdom and information, and produces an unity of action and direction in all the branches of the government. The excellence of this construction of the executive power has already manifested itself here under very opposite circumstances. During the administration

of our first President, his cabinet of four members was equally divided by as marked an opposition of principle as monarchism and republicanism could bring into conflict. Had that cabinet been a directory, like positive and negative quantities in algebra, the opposing wills would have balanced each other and produced a state of absolute inaction. But the President heard with calmness the opinions and reasons of each, decided the course to be pursued, and kept the government steadily in it, unaffected by the agitation. The public knew well the dissensions of the cabinet, but never had an uneasy thought on their account, because they knew also they had provided a regulating power which would keep the machine in steady movement. I speak with an intimate knowledge of these scenes, *quorum pars fui,* as I may of others of a character entirely opposite. The third administration, which was of eight years, presented an example of harmony in a cabinet of six persons, to which perhaps history has furnished no parallel. There never arose during the whole time an instance of an unpleasant thought or word between the members. We sometimes met under difference of opinion, but scarcely ever failed, by conversing and reasoning, so to modify each others' ideas as to produce a unanimous result. Yet able and amiable as these members were, I am not certain this would have been the case had each possessed equal and independent powers. Ill-defined limits of their respective departments, jealousies, trifling at first, but nourished and strengthened by repetition of occasions, intrigues without doors of designing persons to build an importance to themselves on the divisions of others might from small beginnings have produced persevering oppositions. But the power of decision in the President left no object for internal dissension, and external intrigue was stifled in embryo by the knowledge which incendiaries possessed that no division they could ferment would change the course of the executive power. I am not conscious that my participations in the executive authority have produced any bias in favor of the single executive, because the parts I have acted have been in the subordinate as well as in superior stations, and because, if I know myself, what I have

felt and what I have wished, I know that I have never been so well pleased as when I could shift power from my own on the shoulders of others, nor have I ever been able to conceive how any rational being could propose happiness to himself from the exercise of power over others. (To Destutt Tracy, 1881. C. V., 568.)

EXPANSION.—I am aware of the force of the observations you make on the power given by the Constitution to Congress to admit new States into the Union without restraining the subject to the territory then constituting the United States. But when I consider that the limits of the United States are precisely fixed by the treaty of 1783, that the Constitution expressly declares itself to be made for the United States, I cannot help believing the intention was not to permit Congress to admit into the Union new States which should be formed out of the territory for which and under whose authority alone they were then acting. I do not believe it was meant that they might receive England, Ireland, Holland, etc., into it, which would be the case under your construction. (To W. C. Nicholas, 1803. C. IV., 505.)

EXPANSION.—The denouement (referring to the acquisition of Louisiana) has been happy; and I confess I look to this duplication of area for the extending of a government so free and economical as ours as a great achievement to the mass of happiness that is to ensue. (To Dr. Priestly, 1804. C. IV., 525.)

EXPANSION.—See Canada, Cuba, Louisiana.

EXERCISE.—Give about two hours every day to exercise; for health must not be sacrificed to learning. A strong body makes the mind strong. As to the species of exercise, I advise the gun. While this gives a moderate exercise to the body, it gives boldness, enterprise, and independence to the mind. Games played with the ball, and others of that nature, are too violent for the body, and stamp no character on the mind. Let your gun, therefore, be the constant companion of your walks. Never think of taking a book with you. The object of walking is to relax the mind. You should, therefore, not permit yourself even to think while you walk; but direct yourself by the

objects surrounding you. Walking is the best possible exercise. Habituate yourself to walk very far. The Europeans value themselves on having subdued the horse to the uses of man; but I doubt whether we have not lost more than we have gained by the use of this animal. No one has occasioned so much the degeneracy of the human body. An Indian goes on foot nearly as far in a day for a long journey as an enfeebled white does on his horse; and he will tire the best horses. There is no habit you will value so much as that of walking far without fatigue. I would advise you to take your exercise in the afternoon; not because it is the best time for exercise, for certainly it is not; but because it is the best time to spare from your studies; and habit will soon reconcile it to health, and render it nearly as useful as if you gave to that the more precious hours of the day. A little walk of half an hour in the morning when you first rise is advisable also. It shakes off sleep and produces other good effects in the animal economy. (To Peter Carr, his nephew, 1785. C. I., 397.)

Expatriation.—My opinion on the right of expatriation has been, so long ago as the year 1776, consigned to record in the act of the Virginia code, drawn by myself, recognizing the right expressly, and prescribing the mode of exercising it. The evidence of this natural right, like that of our right to life, liberty, the use of our facilities, the pursuit of happiness, is not left to the feeble and sophistical investigations of reason, but is impressed on the sense of every man. We do not claim these under the charters of kings or legislators, but under the King of kings. If he has made it a law in the nature of man to pursue his own happiness, he has left him free in the choice of place as well as mode; and we may safely call on the whole body of English jurists to produce the map on which Nature has traced, for each individual, the geographical line which she forbids him to cross in pursuit of happiness. It certainly does not exist in the mind. Where, then, is it? I believe, too, I might safely affirm, that there is not another nation, civilized or savage, which has ever denied this natural right. I doubt if there is another which refuses its exercise. I know it is allowed

in some of the most respectable countries of continental Europe, nor have I ever heard of one in which it was not. How it is among our savage neighbors, who have no law but that of nature, we all know. (To Dr. John Manners, 1817. C. VII., 73.)

EXPATRIATION.—I hold the right of expatriation to be inherent in every man by the laws of nature, and incapable of being rightly taken from him even by the united will of every other person in the nation. If the laws have provided no particular mode by which the right of expatriation may be exercised, the individual may do it by any effectual and unequivocal act or declaration. The laws of Virginia have provided a mode; Mr. Cooper is said to have exercised his right solemnly and exactly according to that mode, and to have departed from the Commonwealth; whereupon the law declares that "he shall thenceforth be deemed no citizen." Returning afterwards he returns an alien, and must proceed to make himself a citizen if he desires it, as every other alien does. At present he can hold no lands, receive nor transmit any inheritance, nor enjoy any other right peculiar to a citizen.

The general government has nothing to do with this question. Congress may by the Constitution "establish an uniform rule of naturalization," that is, by what rule an alien may become a citizen. But they cannot take from the citizen his natural right of divesting himself of the character of a citizen by expatriation. (To Albert Gallatin, 1806. F. VIII., 458.)

EXPENSES OF PUBLIC SERVANTS.—It is just the members of the General Assembly, delegated by the people to transact for them the legislative business, should, while attending that business, have their reasonable sustenance defrayed; * * * and it is expedient that the public councils should not be deterred from entering into them by the insufficiency of their private fortunes to be the extraordinary expenses they must necessarily incur. (From a Bill giving members of the Assembly an adequate allowance, 1778. F. II., 165.)

FARMER.—An industrious farmer occupies a more dignified place in the scale of beings, whether moral or political, than

a lazy lounger, valuing himself on his family, too proud to work, and drawing out a miserable existence by eating on that surplus of other men's labour which is the sacred fund of the helpless poor. (Written in Paris, 1786. F. IV., 176.)

FARMERS.—Farmers are the true representatives of the great American interest and are alone to be relied on for expressing the proper American sentiments. (From a letter to Arthur Campbell, 1797.)

FARMING.—When I first entered on the stage of public life (now twenty-four years ago), I came to a resolution never to engage while in public office in any kind of enterprise for the improvement of my fortune nor to wear any other character than that of a farmer. I have never departed from it in a single instance; and I have in multiplied instances found myself happy in being able to decide and to act as a public servant, clear of all interest in the multiform questions that have arisen, wherein I have seen others embarrassed and biased by having got themselves into a more interested situation. Thus I have thought myself richer in contentment than I should have been with any increase of fortune. Certainly I should have been much wealthier had I remained in that private condition which renders it lawful and even laudable to use proper efforts to better it. However, my public career is now closing, and I will go through on the principle on which I have hitherto acted. (From a letter without an address, 1793. C. III., 527.)

THE FEDERALIST.—With respect to the Federalist, the three authors had been named to me. I read it with care, pleasure and improvement, and was satisfied there was nothing in it by one of these hands and not a great deal by a second. It does the highest honor to the third, as being in my opinion, the best commentary on the principles of government which ever was written. In some parts it is discoverable that the author means only to say what may be best said in defense of opinions in which he did not concur. But in general it establishes firmly the plan of government. I confess it has rectified me in several points. (From a letter to James Madison, written in Paris, 1788. F. V., 53.)

FICTION.—A little attention to the nature of the human mind evinces that the entertainments of fiction are useful as well as pleasant. * * * A lively and lasting sense of filial duty is more effectually impressed on the mind of a son or daughter by reading King Lear, than by all the dry volumes of ethics and divinity that ever were written. (To Robert Skipwith, a friend of Jefferson's youth, 1771. F. I., 398.)

FOREIGN ENTANGLEMENTS.—Determined as we are to avoid if possible wasting the energies of our people in war and destruction, we shall avoid implicating ourselves with the powers of Europe even in the support of principles which we mean to pursue. They have so many other interests different from ours that we must avoid being entangled in them. (To Thomas Paine, 1801. F. VIII., 18.)

FOREIGN ENTANGLEMENTS.—I join you in a sense of necessity of restoring freedom to the ocean. But I doubt with you whether the United States ought to join in an armed confederacy for that purpose; or rather I am satisfied they ought not. It ought to be the very first object of our pursuit to have nothing to do with the European interests and politics. Let them be free or slaves at will, navigators or agricultural, swallowed into one government or divided into a thousand, we have nothing to fear from them in any form. To take a part in their conflicts would be to divert our energies from creation to destruction. Our commerce is so valuable to them that they will be glad to purchase it when the only price we ask is to do us justice. (To Thos. Logan, 1801. F. VIII., 23.)

FOREIGN ENTANGLEMENTS.—We have a perfect horror at everything like connecting ourselves with the politics of Europe. It would indeed be advantageous to us to have neutral rights established on a broad ground; but no dependence can be placed in any European coalition for that. They have so many other by-interests of greater weight, that some one or other will always be bought off. To be entangled with them would be a much greater evil than a temporary acquiescence in the false principles which have prevailed. Peace is our most important

interest, and a recovery from debt. (To William Short, 1801. F. VIII., 98.)

Foreign Ministers.—I think it possible that it will be established into a maxim of the new government to discontinue its foreign servants after a certain time of absence from their own country because they lose in time that sufficient degree of intimacy with its circumstances which alone can enable them to know and pursue its interests. (To William Short, 1790. F. V., 244.)

France.—This occasion [the assembling of the Notables] more than anything I have seen, convinces me that this nation is incapable of any serious effort but under the word of command. The people at large view every object only as it may furnish puns and *bon mots;* and I pronounce that a good punster would disarm the whole nation were they ever so seriously disposed to revolt. Indeed, Madam, they are gone, when a measure so capable of doing good as the calling of the Notables is treated with so much ridicule; we may conclude the nation desperate and in charity pray that heaven may send them good kings. (To Mrs. John Adams, written from Paris, 1787. F. IV., 371.)

France.—I consider your boasts of the splendor of your city [London] and of its superb hackney coaches as a flout, and I declare that I would not give the polite, self-denying, feeling, hospitable, good-humored people of this country and their amiability in every point of view (tho' it must be confessed our streets are somewhat dirty, and our fiacres rather indifferent) for ten such races of rich, proud, hectoring, swearing, squibbling, carnivorous animals as those among whom you are; and I do love this people with all my heart, and think that with a better religion, a better form of government and their present governors, their condition and country would be most enviable. (Written from Paris to Mrs. John Adams, 1785. F. IV., 61.)

France.—Be assured, Sir, that the government and citizens of the United States view with the most sincere pleasure every advance of your nation towards its happiness, an object essentially connected with its liberty, and they consider the union

of principles and pursuits between our two countries as a link which binds still closer than interests and affections. The genuine and general effusion of joy which you saw overspread our country on their seeing the liberties of yours rise superior to foreign invasion and domestic trouble has proved to you that our sympathies are great and sincere, and we earnestly wish on our part that there our mutual dispositions may be improved to mutual good by establishing our commercial intercourse on principles as friendly to natural right and freedom as are those of our government. (Written to the French Minister, 1793. F. VI., 189.)

FRANCE AND ENGLAND.—When of two nations the one has engaged herself in a ruinous war for us, has spent her blood and money to save us, has opened her bosom to us in peace, and received us almost on the footings of her own citizens, while the other has moved heaven, earth and hell to exterminate us in war, has insulted us in all her councils in peace, shut her doors to us in every port where her interests would admit it, libeled us in foreign nations, endeavored to poison them against the reception of our most precious commodities; to place these two nations on a footing, is to give a great deal more to one than to the other if the maxim be true that to make unequal quantities equal you must add more to the one than to the other. To say in excuse that gratitude is never to enter into the motives of national conduct is to revive a principle which has been buried for centuries with its kindred principles of the lawfulness of assassination, poison, prying, etc. (Written to James Madison from Paris, 1789. F. V., 111.)

FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN.—The succession to Dr. Franklin, at the court of France, was an excellent school of humility. On being represented to any one as the Minister of America, the commonplace question used in such cases was *"C'est vous, Monsieur, qui remplace le Docteur Franklin;"* "It is you, Sir, who replace Dr. Franklin." I generally answered, "No one can replace him, Sir; I am only his successor." (To Rev. William Smith, 1791. F. V., 293.)

FREEDOM.—The station which we occupy among the nations

of the earth is honorable, but awful. Trusted with the destinies of this solitary republic of the world, the only monument of human rights and the sole depository of the sacred fire of freedom and self-government, from hence it is to be lighted up in other regions of the earth, if other regions of the earth ever become susceptible of its benign influence. All mankind ought then, with us, to rejoice in its prosperous, and sympathize in its adverse fortunes, as involving everything that is dear to man. And to what sacrifices of interest, or commerce ought not these considerations to animate us? To what compromises of opinion and inclination, to maintain harmony and union among ourselves, and to preserve from all danger this hallowed ark of human hope and human happiness. That differences of opinion should arise among men, on politics, on religion, and on every other topic of human inquiry, and that these should be freely expressed in a country where all our faculties are free, is to be expected. (To the citizens of Washington, 1809. C. VIII., 157.)

Freedom of the Press.—As to myself, conscious that there was not a truth on earth which I feared should be known, I have lent myself willingly as the subject of a great experiment, which was to prove that an administration, conducting itself with integrity and common understanding, cannot be battered down, even by the falsehoods of a licentious press, and consequently still less by the press, as restrained within the legal and wholesome limits of truth. This experiment was wanting for the world to demonstrate the falsehood of the pretext that freedom of the press is incompatible with orderly government. I have never therefore even contradicted the thousands of calumnies so industriously propagated against myself. But the fact being once established, that the press is impotent when it abandons itself to falsehood, I leave to others to restore it to its strength, by recalling it within the pale of truth. Within that, it is a noble institution, equally the friend of science and of civil liberty. If this can once be effected in your State, I trust we shall soon see its citizens rally to the republican prin-

ciples of our Constitution, which unite their sister-states into one family. (To Thomas Seymour, 1807. C. V., 43.)

FREE GOODS.—"Free ships should make free goods;" this principle has by every maritime nation of Europe been established, to a greater or less degree, in its treaties with other nations; insomuch, that all of them have, more or less frequently, assented to it, as a rule of action in particular cases. Indeed, it is now urged, and I think with great appearance of reason, that this is genuine principle dictated by national morality; and that the first practice arose from accident, and the particular convenience of the States which first figured on the water, rather than from well-digested reflections on the relations of friend and enemy, on the rights of territorial jurisdiction, and on the dictates of moral law applied to these. Thus it had never been supposed lawful, in the territory of a friend to seize the goods of an enemy. On an element which nature has not subjected to the jurisdiction of any particular nation, but has made common to all for the purposes to which it is fitted, it would seem that the particular portion of it which happens to be occupied by the vessel of any nation, in the course of its voyage, is for the moment, the exclusive property of that, and the nation, with the vessel, is exempt from intrusion by any other, and from its jurisdiction, as much as if it were lying in the harbor of its sovereign. In no country, we believe, is the rule otherwise, as to the subjects of property common to all. Thus the place occupied by an individual in a highway, a church, a theater, or other public assembly, cannot be intruded on, while its occupants hold it for the purpose of its institution. The persons on board a vessel traversing the ocean, carry with them the laws of their nation, have among themselves a jurisdiction, a police, not established by their individual will, but by the authority of their nation, of whose territory their vessel still seems to compose a part, so long as it does not enter the exclusive territory of another.

No nation ever pretended a right to govern by their laws the ship of another nation navigating the ocean. By what law then can it enter that ship while in peaceable and orderly use of

the common element? We recognize no natural precept for submission to such a right; and perceive no distinction between the movable and the immovable jurisdiction of a friend, which would authorize the entering the one and not the other, to seize the property of an enemy. (To the United States Minister to France, 1801. F. VIII., 89.)

FRENCH REVOLUTION.—The revolution in this country seems to be going on well. * * * The circumstance from which I fear the worst is that the States General are too numerous. I see great difficulty in preventing 1,200 people from becoming a mob. Should confusion be prevented from this circumstance, I suppose the States General, with the consent of the King, will establish some of the leading features of a good constitution. They have indeed a miserable old canvas to work on, covered with daubings which it will be difficult to efface. (Written to William Carmichael from Paris, 1789. F. V., 74.)

French Revolution.—The change in this country since you left it is such as you can form no idea of. The frivolities of conversation have given away entirely to politics. Men, women, and children talk nothing else. The press groans with daily productions which in point of boldness make an Englishman stare. A complete revolution in this government has, within the space of two years been effected merely by the force of public opinion, aided indeed by the want of money which the dissipations of the court had brought on. The assembly of the States General begins the 27th of April. The representation of the people will be perfect. But they will be alloyed by an equal number of nobility and clergy. * * * I believe this nation will in the course of the present year have as full a portion of liberty dealt out to them as the nation can bear at present, considering how uninformed the mass of their people is. (Written to David Humphreys from Paris, 1789. F. V., 88.)

FRENCH REVOLUTION.—The American war seems first to have awakened the thinking part of the nation in general from the sleep of despotism in which they were sunk. The officers, too, who have been to America, were mostly young men, less shackled by habit and prejudice, and more ready to assent to

the dictates of common sense and common right. They came back impressed with these. The press notwithstanding its shackles, began to disseminate them; conversation, too, assumed new freedom; politics became the theme of all societies, male and female, and a very extensive and zealous party was formed, which may be called the Patriotic party, who sensible of the abusive government under which they lived, longed for occasion of reforming it. This party comprehended all the honesty of the kingdom, sufficiently at its leisure to think; the men of letters, the easy bourgeois, the young nobility, partly from reflection, partly from mode; for these sentiments became a matter of mode, and as such united most of the young women to the party. Happily for the nation, it happened that, at the same moment the dissipation of the court had exhausted the money and credit of the State, and M. de Calonnes found himself obliged to appeal to the nation, and to develop to it the ruin of their finances. He had no idea of supplying the deficit by economies; he saw no means but new taxes. To tempt the nation to consent to these some *douceurs* were necessary. The notables were called in 1787. The leading vices of the constitution and administration were ably sketched out, good remedies proposed, and under the splendor of the propositions, a demand for more money was couched. The Notables concurred with the minister in the necessity of reformation, adroitly avoided the demand for money, got him displaced, and one of their leading men placed in his room. The archbishop of Toulouse, by the aid of the hopes formed of him, was able to borrow some money, and he reformed considerably the expenses of the court. Notwithstanding the prejudices since formed against him, he appeared to me to pursue the reformation of the laws and constitution as steadily as a man could do who had to drag the court after him, and even to conceal from them the consequences of the measures he was leading them into. In this time the criminal laws were reformed, provincial assemblies and States established in most of the provinces, the States General promised, and a solemn acknowledgment was made by the King that he could not impose a new tax without the

consent of the nation. It is true he was continually goaded forward by the public claims, excited by the writings and workings of the Patriots, who were able to keep up the public fermentation at the exact point which borders on resistance, without entering it. They had taken into their alliance the Parliaments also, who were led, by very singular circumstances, to espouse, for the first time the rights of the nation. They had from old causes had personal hostility against M. de Colonnes. They refused to register his laws or his taxes, and went so far as to acknowledge they had no power to do it. They persisted in this with his successor, who therefore exiled them. Seeing that the nation did not interest themselves much for their recall, they began to fear that the new judicature proposed in their place would be established and that their own suppression would be perpetual. In short, they found their own strength insufficient to oppose that of the King. They therefore insisted that the States General should be called. Here they became united with and supported by the Patriots, and their joint influence was sufficient to produce the promise of that assembly. I always suspected that the archbishops had no objections to this force under which they laid him. But the Patriots and Parliament insisted it was their efforts which extorted the promise against his will. The re-establishment of the Parliament was the effect of the same coalition between the Patriots and Parliament; but once re-established, the latter began to see danger in that very power, the States General, which they had called for in a moment of despair, but which they now foresaw might very possibly abridge their power. They began to prepare ground for questioning their legality, as a rod over the head of the States, and as a refuge if they should really extend their reformations to them. Mr. Neckar came in at this period and very dexterously disembarrassed the administration of their disputes by calling the Notables to advise the form of calling and constituting the States. The court was well disposed towards the people, not from principles of justice or love to them; but they want money. No more can be had from the people. They are squeezed to the last drop. The clergy and nobles, by their

privileges and influence, have kept their property in a great measure untaxed hitherto. They then remain to be squeezed, and no agent is powerful enough for this but the people. The court must therefore ally itself with the people. But the Notables, consisting mostly of privileged characters, had proposed a method of composing the States, which would have rendered the voice of the people, or *Tiers Etat*, in the States General, inefficient for the purpose of the court. It concurred then with the Patriots in intriguing with the Parliament to get them to pass a vote in favor of the rights of the people. This vote, balancing that of the Notables, has placed the court at liberty to follow its own views, and they have determined that the *Tiers Etat* shall have in the States General as many votes as the clergy and nobles put together. Still a great question remains to be decided, that is, shall the States General vote by orders, or by person? Precedents are both ways. The clergy will move heaven and earth to obtain suffrage by orders, because that parries the effect of all hitherto done for the people. The people will probably send their deputies expressly instructed to consent to no tax, to no adoption of the public debt, unless the unprivileged part of the nation has a voice equal to that of the privileged; that is to say, unless the voice of the *Tiers Etat* be equalled to that of the clergy and Notables. They will have the young noblesse in general on their side, and the King and the court. Against them will be the ancient nobles and the clergy. So that I hope, upon the whole, that by the time they meet, there will be a majority of the nobles themselves in favor of the *Tiers Etat*. So far history. We are now come to prophecy; for you will ask, to what will all this lead? I answer, if the States General do not stumble at the threshold on the questions before stated, and which must be decided before they can proceed to business, then they will in their first session easily obtain: 1. Their future periodical convocation of the States. 2. Their exclusive right to raise and appropriate money which includes that of establishing a civil list. 3. A participation in legislation; probably at first, it will be a transfer to them of the portion of it now exercised by Parliament, that is to say,

a right to propose amendments and negatives. But it must infallibly end in a right of origination. 4. Perhaps they may make a declaration of rights. It will be attempted at least. Two other objects will be attempted, viz., a *habeas corpus* law and a free press. But probably they may not obtain these in the first session, or with modification only, and the nation must be left to ripen itself more for their unlimited adoption. Upon the whole, it has appeared to me that the basis of the present struggle is an illumination of the public mind as to the rights of the nation, aided by fortunate incidents; that they can never retrograde, but from the natural progress of things, must press forward to the establishment of a constitution which shall assure them a good degree of liberty. They flatter themselves they shall form a better constitution than the English. I think it will be better in some points, worse in others. It will be better in the article of representation, which will be more equal. It will be worse, as their situation obliges them to keep up the dangerous machine of a standing army. I doubt, too, whether they will obtain the trial by jury, because they are not sensible of its value. (To Dr. Price, written in Paris, 1789. C. II., 553-557.)

French Revolution.—I am looking ardently to the completion of the glorious work in which your country is engaged. I view the general condition of Europe as hanging on the success or failure of France. Having set such an example of philosophical arrangement within, I hope it will extend without your limits also, to your dependents and to your friends in every part of the earth. (To the Marquis de Condercet, 1791. F. V., 379.)

French Revolution.—I still hope the French revolution will issue happily. I feel that the permanence of our own leans in some degree on that, and that failure there would be a powerful argument to prove a failure here. (To Edward Rutledge, 1791. F. V., 377.)

French Revolution.—The French Revolution proceeds steadily, and is, I think, beyond the danger of accident of every kind. The success of that will ensure the progress of liberty

in Europe, and its preservation here. The failure of that would have been a powerful argument with those who wish to introduce a king, lords and commons here. (To E. Pendleton, 1791. F. V., 358.)

FRENCH REVOLUTION.—I look with great anxiety for the firm establishment of the new government in France, being perfectly convinced that if it takes place there, it will spread sooner or later all over Europe. On the contrary a check there would retard the revival of liberty in other countries. I consider the establishment and success of their government as necessary to stay up our own, and to prevent it from falling back to that kind of half-way house, the English constitution. It cannot be denied that we have among us a sect who believe that to contain whatever is perfect in human institutions; that the members of this sect have, many of them, names and offices which stand high in the estimation of our countrymen. I still reply that the great mass of our community is untainted by these heresies, as is its head. On this I build my hope that we have not labored in vain, and that our experiment will still prove that men can be governed by reason. (To George Mason, 1791. F. V., 275.)

FRENCH REVOLUTION.—We surely cannot deny to any nation the right whereon our own government is founded, that every one may govern itself under whatever form it pleases, and change these forms at its own will, and that it may transact its business with foreign nations through whatever organ it thinks proper, whether King, convention, assembly, committee, President, or whatever else it may choose. The will of the nation is the only thing essential to be regarded. * * * Indeed we wish no opportunity of convincing them [the French people] how cordially we desire the closest union with them; mutual good offices, mutual affection and similar principles of government seem to have destined the two people for the most intimate communion, and even for a complete exchange of citizenship among the individuals composing them. (From a letter to the United States Minister to France, 1792. F. VI., 150.)

FRENCH REVOLUTION.—This ministry which is of the Jacobin party cannot but be favorable to us, as that whole party must be. Indeed notwithstanding the very general abuse of the Jacobins, I begin to consider them as representing the true revolution spirit of the whole nation, and as carrying the nation with them. (To James Madison, 1792. F. VI., 96.)

FRENCH REVOLUTION.—I considered the Jacobins as the same with the Republican patriots and the Feuillants as the monarchical patriots, well known in the early part of the Revolution and but little distant in their views, both having in object the establishment of a free constitution, and differing only on the question whether their chief Executor should be hereditary or not. The Jacobins (as since called) yielded to the Feuillants and tried the experiment of retaining their hereditary Executive. The experiment failed completely, and would have brought on the re-establishment of despotism had it been pursued. The Jacobins saw this, and that the expunging that officer was of absolute necessity. And the nation was with them in opinion. * * * In the struggle which was necessary, many guilty persons fell without the forms of trial, and with them some innocent. These I deplore as much as anybody and shall deplore some of them to the day of my death. But I deplore them as I should have done had they fallen in battle. It was necessary to use the arm of the people, a machine not quite so blind as balls and bombs, but blind to a certain degree. A few of their cordial friends met at their hands the fate of enemies. But time and truth will rescue and embalm their memories, while their posterity will be enjoying liberty for which they would never have hesitated to offer up their lives. The liberty of the whole earth was depending on the issue of the contest, and was ever such a prize won with so little innocent blood? My own affections have been deeply wounded by some of the martyrs to this cause, but rather than it should have failed, I would have seen half of the earth desolated. Were there but an Adam and an Eve left in every country, and left free, it would be better than it now is. I have expressed to you my sentiments, because they are really those of 99 in an hundred

of our citizens. The universal feasts and rejoicings which have lately been had on account of the successes of the French shewed the genuine effusion of their hearts. (To William Short, 1793. F. V., 153.)

French Revolution.—Our news from France continues to be good and to promise a continuance. The event of the revolution there is now little doubted of, even by its enemies. The sensation it has produced here, and the indications of them in the public papers have shown that the form our own government was to take depended much more on the events of France than any body had before imagined. The tide which, after our former relaxed government, took a violent course toward the opposite extreme, and seemed ready to hang everything round with the tassels and baubles of monarchy, is now getting back, as we hope to a just means, a government of laws addressed to the reason of the people, and not to their weaknesses. (To T. M. Randolph, 1793. F. VI., 157.)

French Revolution.—The death of the King of France has not produced as open condemnations from the Monocrats as I expected. I dined the other day in a company where the subject was discussed. I will name the company in the order in which they manifested their partialities; beginning with the warmest Jacobinism and proceeding by shades to the most heartfelt aristocracy. Smith (N. Y.), Coxe, Stewart, T. Shippen, Bingham, Peters, Breck, Meredith, Wolcott. It is certain that the ladies of this city [Philadelphia] of the first circle are all open-mouthed against the murderers of a sovereign, and they generally speak those sentiments which the more cautious husband smothers. (To James Madison, 1793. F. VI., 192.)

French Revolution.—The war between France and England seems to be producing an effect not contemplated. All the old spirit of 1776 is rekindling. The newspapers from Boston to Charleston prove this; and even the Monocrat papers are obliged to publish the most furious Philippics against England. A French frigate took a British prize off the capes of Delaware the other day and sent her up here. Upon her coming into sight thousands and thousands of the yeomanry of the city crowded

and covered the wharves. Never before was such a crowd seen there, and when the British colors were seen reversed and the French flying above them, they burst into peals of exultation. I wish we may be able to repress the spirit of the people within the limits of a fair neutrality. (To James Monroe, 1793. F. VI., 238.)

French Revolution.—I am happy in a safe occasion of answering you that I continue eternally attached to the principles of your revolution. I hope it will end in the establishment of some firm government friendly to liberty and capable of maintaining it. If it does not, I feel that the zealous apostles of English despotism here will increase the number of its disciples. However, we shall still remain free. Though they may harass our spirits, they cannot make impressions on our center. (To Jean Pierre Brissot, 1793. F. VI., 249.)

French Revolution.—The French have been guilty of great errors in their conduct toward other nations, not only insulting uselessly all crowned heads, but endeavoring to force liberty on their neighbors, in their own form. They seem to be correcting themselves in the latter point. (To T. M. Randolph, 1793. F. VI., 318.)

French Revolution.—Your letters give a comfortable view of French affairs, and later events seem to confirm it. Over the foreign powers I am convinced they will triumph completely, and I cannot but hope that that triumph and the consequent disgrace of the invading tyrants is destined, in the order of events, to kindle the wrath of the people of Europe against those who have dared to embroil them in such wickedness, and to bring at length kings, nobles and priests to the scaffold which they have been so long deluging with human blood. I am still warm whenever I think of these scoundrels, though I do it as seldom as I can, preferring infinitely to contemplate the tranquil growth of my lucern and potatoes. (To Tench Coxe, 1794. F. VI., 508.)

Freneau.—He (Washington) adverted to a piece in Freneau's paper of yesterday; he said he despised all their attacks on him personally, but that there had never been an act of the govern-

ment, not meaning the executive line only, but in any line which that paper had not abused. * * * He was evidently sore and warm, and I took his intention to be that I should interfere in some way with Freneau, perhaps withdraw his appointment of translating clerk to my office. But I will not do it. His paper has saved our Constitution, which was galloping fast into monarchy and has been checked by no one means so powerfully as by that paper. It is well and universally known that it has been that paper which has checked the career of the Monocrats, and the President not sensible of the designs of the party has not with his usual good sense and *sang froid* looked on the efforts and effects of this free press, and seen that though some bad things have passed through it to the public yet the good have preponderated immensely. (Anas, 1793. C. VIII., 145.)

Friendship.—When languishing under disease, how grateful is the solace of our friends! How we are penetrated with their assiduities and attentions! How much are we supported by their encouragement and kind offices! When heaven has taken from us some object of our love, how sweet it is to have a bosom whereon to recline our heads and into which we may pour the torrent of our tears! Grief, with such a comfort, is almost a luxury! Friendship is precious, not only in the shade but in the sunshine of life; and thanks to a benevolent arrangement of things, the greater part of life is sunshine. I will recur for proof to the days we have lately passed. On these indeed the sun shone brightly. How gay did the face of nature appear! Hills, valleys, chateaux, gardens, rivers, every object wore its loveliest hue! Whence did they borrow it? From the presence of our charming companion. They were pleasing because she seemed pleased. Alone the scene would have been dull and insipid; the participation of it with her gave relish. Let the gloomy monk, sequestered from the world, seek unsocial pleasures in the bottom of his cell; let the sublimated philosopher grasp visionary happiness while pursuing phantoms dressed in the garb of truth. Their supreme wisdom is supreme folly. Had they ever felt the solid pleasure of one generous spasm of the

heart, they would exchange it for all the frigid speculations of their lives. Believe me, then, my friend, that that is a miserable arithmetic which could estimate friendship at nothing. (From a letter to Mrs. Maria Cosway, written in Paris, 1786. F. IV., 319.)

FRIENDSHIP.—The way to make friends quarrel is to put them in disputation under the public eye. An experience of near twenty years has taught me that few friendships stand this test, and that public assemblies, where every one is free to act and speak, are the most powerful looseners of the bands of private friendship. (To George Washington, 1784. F. III., 466.)

FUGITIVE DEBTORS.—To remit the fugitive from debt would be to remit him in every case, for in the present state of things it is next to impossible not to owe something. But I see neither injustice nor inconvenience in permitting the fugitive to be sued in our courts. The laws of some countries punishing the unfortunate debtor by perpetual imprisonment, he is right to liberate himself by flight, and it would be wrong to re-imprison him in the country to which he flies. Let all process, therefore, be confined to his property. (From a report on convention with Spain, 1792. F. V., 484.)

GENET.—Never in my opinion was so calamitous an appointment made as that of the present Minister of France here. Hot-headed, all imagination, no judgment, passionate, disrespectful and even indecent towards the President in his written as well as verbal communications, talking of appeals from him to Congress, from them to the people, urging the most unreasonable and groundless propositions, and the most dictatorial style. (To James Madison, 1793. F. VI., 339.)

GENET.—Genet has thrown down the gauntlet to the President by the publication of his letter and my answer, and is himself forcing that appeal and risking that disgust which I had so much wished should have been avoided. The indications from different parts of the continent are already sufficient to show that the mass of the Republican interest has no hesitation to disapprove of this intermeddling by a foreigner, and the more readily as his object was evidently, contrary to his professions,

to force us into the war. I am not certain whether some of the more furious Republicans may not schismatize with him. (To James Madison, 1793. F. VI., 398.)

GENIUS.—But you, sir, who have received from me the recommendations of a Rittenhouse, Barlow, Paine, will believe that talents and science are sufficient motives with me in appointments to which they are fitted, and that Freneau as a man of genius might find favor in my eye. * * * I hold it to be one of the distinguishing excellencies of election over hereditary successions that the talents which nature has provided in sufficient proportion should be selected by the society for the government of their affairs, rather than this should be transmitted through the loins of knaves and fools, passing from debauches of the table to those of the bed. (To Washington, 1792. F. VI., 107.)

GEORGE III.—Open your breast, sire, to liberal and expanded thought. Let not the name of George the Third be a blot in the page of history. You have no Minister for American affairs, because you have none taken up from among us, nor amenable to the laws on which they are to give you advice. It behooves you, therefore, to think and act for yourself and the people. * * * The whole art of government consists in the art of being honest. Only aim to do your duty and mankind will give you credit where you fail. No longer persevere in sacrificing the rights of one part of the empire to the inordinate desires of another; but deal out to all, equal and impartial right. (From "A Summary View," 1774. F. I., 446.)

GEORGE III.—The following is an epitome of the first sixteen years of his (George III's) reign: The colonies were taxed internally and externally; their essential interests sacrificed to individuals in Great Britain; their Legislatures suspended; charters annulled; trials by jury taken away; their persons subjected to transportation across the Atlantic and to trial before foreign judicatories; their supplications for redress thought beneath answer; armed troops sent among them to enforce submission to these violences; and actual hostilities commenced against them. (From "Notes on Virginia," 1782. F. III., 221.)

George III.—We have a blind story here of somebody attempting to assassinate your King. No man on earth has my prayers for his continuance in life more sincerely than he. He is truly the American Messias, the most precious life that ever God gave. And may God continue it. Twenty long years has he been laboring to drive us to our good and he labors and will labor still for it if he can be spared. We shall have need of him for twenty more. The Prince of Wales on the throne, Landsdown and Fox in the Ministry and we are undone! We become chained by our habits to the tails of those who hate and despise us. I repeat it then that my anxieties are all alive for the health and long life of the King. He has not a friend on earth who would lament his loss as much and so long as I should. (Written to Mrs. John Adams from Paris, 1786. F. IV., 262.)

Good Humor.—Without that bright fancy which captivates, I am in hopes he possesses sound judgment and much observation; and, what I value more than all things, good humor. For thus I estimate the qualities of the mind: 1, good humor; 2, integrity; 3, industry; 4, science. The preference of the first to the second quality may not at first be acquiesced in; but certainly we had all rather associate with a good-humored, light-principled man, than with an ill-tempered rigorist in morality. (To Dr. Rush, 1808. C. V., 226.)

Government.—The opinions of men are not the object of civil government. To suffer the civil magistrate to intrude his powers into the field of opinion and to restrain the profession or propagation of principles on supposition of their ill tendency is a dangerous fallacy, which at once destroys all religious liberty, because he being of course judge of that tendency will make his opinions the rule of judgment, and approve or condemn the sentiments of others only as they shall square with or differ from his own. It is time enough for the rightful purposes of civil government for its officers to interfere when principles break out into overt acts against peace and good order. (From a bill for establishing religious freedom, 1779. F. II., 239.)

Government.—In every government on earth is some trace of

human weakness, some germ of corruption and degeneracy, which cunning will discover, and wickedness insensibly open, cultivate and improve. Every government degenerates when trusted to the rulers of the people alone. The people, themselves, therefore, are its only safe depositaries. And to render even them safe, their minds must be improved to a certain degree. (From "Notes on Virginia," 1782. F. III., 254.)

GOVERNMENT.—It has been said that our governments, both Federal and particular, want energy; that it is difficult to restrain both individuals and States from committing wrong. This is true and it is an inconvenience. On the other hand that energy which absolute governments derive from an armed force, which is the effect of the bayonet constantly held at the breast of every citizen, and which resembles very much the stillness of the grave, must be admitted also to have its inconveniences. We weigh the two together and like best to submit to the former. Compare the number of wrongs committed with impunity by citizens among us, with those committed by the sovereign in other countries, and the last will be found most numerous, most oppressive on the mind, and most degrading of the dignity of man. (From questions propounded by M. De Meusnier, 1786. F. IV., 147.)

GOVERNMENT.—The first principle of a good government is certainly a distribution of its powers into executive, judiciary, and legislative, and a subdivision of the latter into two or three branches. (To John Adams, 1787. F. IV., 454.)

GOVERNMENT.—Though civil government duly framed and administered be one of the greatest blessings and most powerful instruments for procuring safety and happiness to men collected in large societies, yet such is the proneness of those to whom its powers are necessarily deputed to prevent them to the attainment of personal wealth and dominion and to the utter oppression of their fellow men that it has become questionable whether the condition of our aboriginal neighbors who live without laws or magistracies be not preferable to that of the great mass of the nations of the earth who feel their laws and

magistrates but in the weight of their burdens. (From Petition on Election of Jurors, 1798. F. VII., 284.)

GOVERNMENT.—To cultivate peace and maintain commerce and navigation in all their lawful enterprises; to foster our fisheries and nurseries of navigation and for the nurture of man, and protect the manufactures adapted to our circumstances; to preserve the faith of the nation by an exact discharge of its debts and contracts, expend the public money with the same care and economy we would practice with our own, and impose on our citizens no unnecessary burden; to keep in all things within the pale of our rock of safety—these, fellow-citizens, are the landmarks by which we are to guide ourselves in all our proceedings. By continuing to make these our rule of action, we shall endear to our countrymen the true principles of their Constitution, and promote a union of sentiment and of action equally auspicious to their happiness and safety. (From the Second Annual Message, 1802. F. VIII., 186.)

GOVERNMENT.—The only orthodox object of the institution of government is to secure the greatest degree of happiness possible to the general mass of those associated under it. * * * Unless the mass retains sufficient control over those intrusted with the powers of their government, these will be perverted to their own oppression, and to the perpetuation of wealth and power in the individuals and their families selected for the trust. Whether our Constitution has hit on the exact degree of control necessary, is yet under experiment; and it is a most encouraging reflection that distance and other difficulties securing us against the brigand governments of Europe, in the safe enjoyment of our farms and firesides, the experiment stands a better chance of being satisfactorily made here than on any occasion yet presented by history. (To Vander Kemp, 1812. C. VI., 45.)

GOVERNMENT.—Every society has a right to fix the fundamental principles of its association, and to say to all individuals, that, if they contemplate pursuits beyond the limits of these principles, and involving dangers which the society chooses to avoid, they must go somewhere else for their exercise; that we

want no citizens, and still less ephemeral and pseudo-citizens, on such terms. We may exclude them from our territory, as we do persons infected with disease. Such is the situation of our country. We have most abundant resources of happiness within ourselves, which we may enjoy in peace and safety, without permitting a few citizens infected with the mania of rambling and gambling to bring danger on the great mass engaged in innocent and safe pursuits at home. * * * A government regulating itself by what is wise and just for the many, uninfluenced by the local and selfish views of the few who direct their affairs, has not been seen, perhaps, on earth. Or if it existed, for a moment, at the birth of ours, it would not be easy to fix the term of its continuance. Still, I believe it does exist here in a greater degree than anywhere else. (To W. H. Crawford, 1816. C. VII., 6.)

GOVERNMENT.—But when we come to the moral principles on which the government is to be administered, we come to what is proper for all conditions of society. I meet you there in all the benevolence and rectitude of your native character; and I love myself always most where I concur most with you. Liberty, truth, probity, honor, are declared to be the four cardinal principles of your society. I believe with you that morality, compassion, generosity, are innate elements of the human constitution; that there exists a right independent of force; that a right to property is founded in our natural wants, in the means with which we are endowed to satisfy these wants, and the right to what we acquire by those means without violating the similar rights of other sensible beings; that no one has a right to obstruct another, exercising his faculties innocently for the relief of sensibilities made a part of his nature; that justice is the fundamental law of society; that the majority, oppressing an individual, is guilty of a crime, abuses its strength, and by acting on the law of the strongest breaks up the foundations of society; that action by the citizens in person, in affairs within their reach and competence, and in all others by representatives, chosen immediately, and removable by themselves, constitutes the essence of a republic; that all governments are more or less Republican

in proportion as their principle enters more or less into their composition; and that a government by representation is capable of extension over a greater surface of country than one of any other form. These, my friend, are the essentials in which you and I agree; however, in our zeal for their maintenance, we may be perplexed and divaricate, as to the structure of society most likely to secure them. (To Dupont de Nemours, 1816. C. VI., 591.)

GRAND JURIES.—Grand juries are the Constitutional inquisitors and informers of the country; they are scattered everywhere, see everything, see it while they suppose themselves mere private persons, and not with the prejudiced eye of a permanent and systematic spy. Their information is on oath, is public, it is in the vicinage of the party charged, and can be at once refuted. . These officers, taken only occasionally from among the people, are familiar to them, the office respected and the experience of centuries has shewn that it is safely intrusted with our character, property and liberty. (From an opinion submitted to the Attorney-General, 1793. F. VI., 245.)

GREAT BRITAIN.—The spirit in which she [Britain] wages war, does not seem the legitimate offspring either of science or civilization. The sun of her glory is fast descending to the horizon. Her philosophy has crossed the channel, her freedom the Atlantic, and herself seems passing to that awful dissolution whose issue is not given human foresight to scan. (From "Notes on Virginia," 1782. F. III., 170.)

GRIEF.—I have often wondered for what good end the sensation of grief could be intended. All other passions, within proper bounds, have a useful object. And the perfection of the moral character is, not in a stoical apathy, so hypocritically vaunted, and so truly too, because impossible, but in a just equilibrium of all the passions. I wish the pathologist then would tell us what is the use of grief in the economy, and of what good it is the cause, proximate or remote. (To John Adams, 1816. C. VI., 575.)

HABEAS CORPUS.—The benefits of the writ of Habeas Corpus shall be extended, by the Legislature, to every person within

this State, and without fee, and shall be so facilitated that no person may be detained in prison more than ten days after he shall have demanded and been refused such a writ by the judge appointed by law * * * nor more than ten days after such writ shall have been served on the person detaining him, and no order given, or due examination, for its remandment or discharge. (From a proposed Constitution for Virginia, 1782. F. III., 332.)

Habeas Corpus.—Why suspend the Habeas Corpus in insurrections and rebellions? If public safety requires that the Government should have a man imprisoned on less probable testimony in those than in other emergencies, let him be taken and tried, retaken and retried, while the necessity continues, only giving him redress against the Government for damages. Examine the history of England. See how few of the cases of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus law have been worthy of that suspension. They have been either real treason wherein the parties might as well have been charged at once, or sham plots where it was shameful they should ever have been suspected. Yet for the few cases wherein the suspension of the Habeas Corpus has done real good, that operation is now become habitual, and the minds of the nation almost prepared to live under its constant suspension. (To James Madison, 1788. F. V., 46.)

Habits of Jefferson.—I live so much like other people, that I might refer to ordinary life as the history of my own. Like my friend the Doctor, I have lived temperately, eating little animal food, and that not as an aliment, so much as a condiment, for the vegetables, which constitute my principle diet. I double, however, the Doctor's glass and a half of wine, and even treble it with a friend; but halve its effects by drinking the weak wines only. The ardent wines I cannot drink, nor do I use ardent spirits in any form. Malt liquors and cider are my table drinks, and my breakfast, like that also of my friend, is of tea and coffee. I have been blest with organs of digestion which accept and concoct, without ever murmuring, whatever the palate chooses to consign to them, and I have not yet lost a tooth by age. I was a hard student until I entered on the business of

life, the duties of which have no idle time to those disposed to fulfill them; and now, retired, and at the age of seventy-six, I am again a hard student. Indeed, my fondness for reading and study revolts me from the drudgery of letter writing. And a stiff wrist, the consequence of an early dislocation, makes writing both slow and painful. I am not so regular in my sleep as the Doctor says he was, devoting to it from five to eight hours, according as my company or the book I am reading interests me; and I never go to bed without an hour, or a half hour's previous reading of something moral, whereon to ruminate in the intervals of sleep. But whether I retire to bed early or late, I rise with the sun. I use spectacles at night, but not necessarily in the day, unless in reading small print. My hearing is distinct in particular conversation, but confused when several voices cross each other, which unfits me for the society of the table. I have been more fortunate than my friend in the article of health. So free from catarrhs that I have not had one, (in the breast, I mean) on an average of eight or ten years through life. I ascribe this exemption partly to the habit of bathing my feet in cold water every morning, for sixty years past. A fever of more than twenty-four hours I have not had above two or three times in my life. A periodical headache has afflicted me occasionally, once, perhaps, in six or eight years, for two or three weeks at a time, which seems now to have left me; and except on a late occasion of indisposition, I enjoy good health; too feeble, indeed, to walk much, but riding without fatigue six or eight miles a day and sometimes thirty or forty. I may end these egotisms, therefore, as I began, by saying that my life has been so much like that of other people, that I might say with Horace, to every one "*nomine mutato, narratur fabula de te.*" (To Doctor Vine Utley, 1819. C. VII., 116.)

HAMILTON.—But Hamilton was not only a monarchist but for a monarchy bottomed on corruption. In proof of this, I will relate an anecdote for the truth of which I attest the God who made me. Before the President set out on his Southern tour in April, 1791, he addressed a letter of the fourth of that

month, from Mount Vernon, to the Secretaries of State, Treasury, and War, desiring that if any serious and important cases should arise during his absence they would consult and act on them. And he requested that the Vice-President should also be consulted. This was the only occasion in which that officer was ever requested to take part in a Cabinet question. Some occasions for consultation arising, I invited these gentlemen (and the Attorney-General, as well as I remember) to dine with me, in order to confer on the subject. After the cloth was removed, and our question agreed and dismissed, conversation began on other matters, and by some circumstance was led to the British Constitution on which Mr. Adams observed, "purge that Constitution of its corruption, and give to its popular branch equality of representation, and it would be the most perfect Constitution ever devised by the wit of man." Hamilton paused and said, "purge it of its corruption and give to its popular branch equality of representation and it would become an impracticable government; as it stands at present, with all its supposed defects, it is the most perfect government which ever existed." And this was assuredly the exact line which separated the political creed of these two gentlemen. The one was for two hereditary branches, and an honest elective one; the other for an hereditary king with a House of Lords and Commons corrupted to his will, and standing between him and the people. Hamilton has indeed a singular character. Of acute understanding, disinterested, honest, and honorable in all private transactions, amiable in society, and duly valuing virtue in private life, yet so bewitched and perverted by the British example as to be under thorough conviction that corruption was essential to the government of a nation. (Anas, 1791. C. IX., 96.)

HAMILTON.—That I have utterly in my private conversations disapproved of the system of the Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton, I acknowledge and avow; and this was not a merely speculative difference. His system flowed from principles adverse to liberty and was calculated to undermine and demolish the republic, by creating an influence of his de-

partment over the members of the Legislature. I saw this influence actually produced, and its first fruits to be the establishment of the great outlines of his project by the votes of the very persons who, having swallowed his bait, were laying themselves out to profit by his plans; and that had these persons withdrawn as those interested in a question ever should, the vote of the disinterested majority was clearly the reverse of what they made it. These were no longer then the votes of the representatives of the people, but of deserters from the rights and interests of the people. (To Washington, 1792. F. VI., 102.)

HAMILTON.—My objection to the Constitution was that it wanted a bill of rights securing freedom of religion, freedom of the press, freedom from standing armies, trial by jury, and a constant Habeas Corpus act. Colonel Hamilton's was that it wanted a king and house of lords. The sense of America has approved my objection and added the bill of rights, not the king and lords. I also thought a longer term of service, insusceptible of renewal would have made a President more independent. My country has thought otherwise, and I have acquiesced implicitly. He wishes the general government should have power to make laws binding the States in all cases whatever. Our country has thought otherwise. Has he acquiesced? (To Washington, 1792. F. VI., 105.)

HAMILTON.—Though I see the pen of the Secretary of Treasury plainly in the attack on me, yet since he has not chosen to put his name to it, I am not free to notice it as his. I have preserved through life a resolution set in a very early part of it, never to write in a public paper without subscribing my name, and not to engage openly an adversary who does not let himself be seen in staking all against nothing. The indecency too of newspapers squabbling between two public ministers, beside my own sense of it, has drawn something like an injunction from another quarter (Washington). Every fact alleged under the signature of "An American" (Hamilton) as to myself is false, and can be proved so; and perhaps will be one day. But for the present lying and scribbling must be free to those mean

enough to deal in them. (To Edmund Randolph, 1792. F. VI., 112.)

HAMILTON.—Hamilton is really a colossus to the anti-Republican party. Without numbers he is a host within himself. They have got themselves into a defile where they might be finished; but too much security on the Republican part will give time to his talents and indefatigableness to extricate them. We have had only middling performances to oppose him. In truth when he comes forward there is nobody but yourself who can meet him. (To James Madison, 1795. F. VII., 32.)

HAMILTON.—I do not at all wonder at the condition in which the finances of the United States are found. Hamilton's object from the beginning was to throw them into forms which should be utterly indecipherable. I ever said he did not understand their condition himself nor was able to give a clear view of the excess of our debts beyond our credits, nor whether we were diminishing or increasing the debt. * * * If Mr. Gallatin would undertake to reduce this chaos to order, present us with a clear view of our finances and put them in a form as simple as they will admit he will merit immortal honor. The accounts of the United States ought to be and may be made as simple as those of a common farmer and capable of being understood by common farmers. (To James Madison, 1796. F. VII., 61.)

HAMILTON.—Hamilton set out on a different plan. In order that he might have the entire government of his machine, he determined so to complicate it as that neither the President or Congress should be able to understand it, or to control him. He succeeded in doing this, not only beyond their reach, but so that he at length could not unravel it himself. He gave to the debt, in the first instance, in funding it, the most artificial and mysterious form he could devise. He then moulded up his appropriations of a number of scraps and remnants, many of which were nothing at all, and applied them to different objects in reversion and remainder, until the whole system was involved in impenetrable fog; and while he was giving himself the airs of providing for the payment of the debt, he left himself free

to add to it continually, as he did in fact instead of paying it. (To Albert Gallatin, 1802. F. VIII., 140.)

HEALTH.—I should have performed the office of but half a friend were I to confine myself to the improvement of the mind only. Knowledge indeed is a desirable, a lovely possession, but I do not scruple to say that health is more so. It is of little consequence to store the mind with science if the body be permitted to become debilitated. If the body be feeble, the mind will not be strong. The sovereign invigorator of the body is exercise and of all exercises, walking is the best. (To Thomas Mann Randolph, 1786. F. IV., 293.)

HEALTH.—An attention to health should take place of every other object. The time necessary to secure this by active exercises, should be devoted to it in preference to every other pursuit. I know the difficulty with which a studious man tears himself from his studies at any given moment of the day. But his happiness and that of his family depend on it. The most uninformed mind with a healthy body, is happier than the wisest valetudinarian. (To Thomas Mann Randolph, 1787. F. IV., 406.)

HISTORY.—The most effectual means of preventing tyranny is to illuminate, as far as practicable, the minds of the people at large, and more especially to give them knowledge of those facts, which history exhibiteth, that possessed thereby of the experience of other ages and countries, they may be able to know ambition under all its shapes, and prompt to exert their natural powers to defeat its purposes. (From a Bill for the Diffusion of Knowledge, 1779. F. II., 221.)

HISTORY.—But of all the views of this law relating to popular education none is more important, none more legitimate, than that of rendering the people the safe, as they are the ultimate, guardians of their own liberties. For this purpose the reading in the first stage, where they will receive their whole education, is proposed to be chiefly historical. History, by apprising them of the past, will enable them to judge of the future; it will avail them of the experience of other times and other nations; will qualify them as judges of the actions and designs of men;

it will enable them to know ambition under every disguise it may assume; and knowing it to defeat its views. (From "Notes on Virginia," 1782. F. III., 254.)

HISTORY.—While you are attending these courses you can proceed by yourself in a regular series of historical reading. It would be waste of time to attend a professor of this. It is to be acquired from books, and if you pursue it by yourself you can accommodate it to your reading so as to fill up those chasms of time not otherwise appropriated. There are portions of the day, too, when the mind should be eased, particularly after dinner it should be applied to lighter occupations; history is of this kind. It exercises principally the memory. Reflection also indeed is necessary but not generally in a laborious degree. (To Thomas Mann Randolph, 1786. F. IV., 291.)

HISTORY.—You say I must go to writing history. While in public life I had not time, and now that I am retired, I am past the time. To write history requires a whole life of observation, of inquiry, of labor and correction. (To Dr. J. B. Stuart, 1817. C. VII., 65.)

HOME.—These reveries alleviate the toil and inquietudes of my present situation, and leave me always impressed with the desire of being home once more, and of exchanging labor, envy, and malice for ease, domestic occupation, and domestic love and society; where I may once more be happy with you, with Mr. Randolph and dear little Anne, with whom even Socrates might ride on a stick without being ridiculous. (To Martha Jefferson Randolph, 1792. F. V., 422.)

HOMER.—Homer and Virgil have been the rapture of every age and nation; they are read with enthusiasm in their originals by those who can read the originals, and in the translations by those who cannot. (From "Notes on Virginia," 1782. F. III., 168.)

IMMIGRATION.—The present desire of America is to produce rapid population by as great importation of foreigners as possible. But is this founded in good policy? The advantage proposed is the multiplication of numbers. But are there no inconveniences to be thrown into the scale against this ad-

vantage? It is for the happiness of those united in society to harmonize as much as possible in matters which they must of necessity transact together. Civil government being the sole object of forming societies, its administration must be conducted by common consent. Every species of government has its specific principles. Ours perhaps are more peculiar than those of any other in the universe. It is a composition of the finest principles of the English Constitution, with others derived from natural right and natural reason. To these nothing can be more opposed than the maxims of absolute monarchies. Yet from such are we to expect the greatest number of emigrants. They will bring with them the principles of governments they leave, imbibed in their early youth; or, if able to throw them off, it will be in exchange for an unbounded licentiousness, passing as is usual from one extreme to another. These principles, with their language, they will transmit to their children. In proportion to their numbers, they will share with us in the legislation. They will infuse into it their spirit, warp and bias its directions, and render it a heterogeneous, incoherent, distracted mass. (From "Notes on Virginia," 1782. F. III., 190.)

IMMORTALITY.—I will not, therefore, by useless condolences, open fresh the sluices of your grief, nor, although mingling sincerely my tears with yours, will I say a word more where words are vain, but that it is of some comfort to us both, that the time is not very distant, at which we are to deposit in the same cerement, our sorrows and suffering bodies, and to ascend in essence to an ecstatic meeting with the friends we have loved and lost, and whom we shall still love and never lose again. (To John Adams, 1818. C. VII., 107.)

IMPRESSMENT.—The simplest rule will be that the vessel being American shall be evidence that the seamen on board her are such. If they apprehend that our vessels might thus become asylums for the fugitives of their own nation from impress gangs, the number of men to be protected by a vessel may be limited by her tonnage, and one or two officers only permitted to enter the vessel in order to examine the numbers on board;

but no press-gang should be allowed to go on board an American vessel till after it shall be found that there are more than their stipulated number on board, nor till after the master shall have refused to deliver the supernumeraries (to be named by himself) to the press officer who has come on board for that purpose, and even then, the American consul should be called in. (From Instructions to British Minister, 1792. F. VI., 76.)

IMPRESSMENT.—It is proposed, I observe, to register seamen and give them certificates of citizenship to protect them from foreign impressment. But these certificates will be lost in a thousand ways; a sailor will neglect to take his certificate; he is wet twenty times in a voyage; if he goes ashore without it, he is impressed; if with it, he gets drunk, it is lost, stolen from him, taken from him, and then the want of it gives authority to impress which does not exist now. After ten years' attention to the subject I have never been able to devise anything effectual but the circumstances of an American bottom to be made *ipso facto,* a protection for a number of seamen proportioned to her tonnage. (To William Giles, 1796. F. VII., 65.)

IMPRESSMENT.—Our particular and separate grievance is only the impressment of our citizens. We must sacrifice the last dollar and drop of blood to rid us of that badge of slavery; and it must rest with England alone to say whether it is worth eternal war, for eternal it must be if she holds to the wrong. She will probably find that the six thousand citizens she took from us by impressment have already cost her ten thousand guineas a man, and will cost her, in addition, the half of that annually, during the continuance of the war, besides the captures on the ocean, and the loss of our commerce. She might certainly find cheaper means of manning her fleet, or, if to be manned at this expense, her fleet will break her down. (To Mr. Crawford, 1815. C. VI., 418.)

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

"Friends and Fellow-Citizens:

"Called upon to undertake the duties of the first executive office of our country, I avail myself of the presence of that por-

tion of my fellow-citizens which is here assembled, to express my grateful thanks for the favor with which they have been pleased to look towards me, to declare a sincere consciousness, that the task is above my talents, and that I approach it with those anxious and awful presentiments, which the greatness of the charge, and the weakness of my powers, so justly inspire. A rising nation, spread over a wide and fruitful land, traversing all the seas with the rich productions of their industry, engaged in commerce with nations who feel power and forget right, advancing rapidly to destinies beyond the reach of mortal eye; when I contemplate these transcendent objects, and see the honor, the happiness, and the hopes of this beloved country committed to the issue and the auspices of this day, I shrink from the contemplation, and humble myself before the magnitude of the undertaking. Utterly, indeed, should I despair, did not the presence of many, whom I here see, remind me, that, in the other high authorities provided by our Constitution, I shall find resources of wisdom, of virtue, and of zeal, on which to rely under all difficulties. To you, then, gentlemen, who are charged with the sovereign functions of legislation, and to those associated with you, I look with encouragement for that guidance and support which may enable us to steer with safety the vessel in which we are all embarked, amidst the conflicting elements of a troubled world.

"During the contest of opinion through which we have passed, the animation of discussions and of exertions has sometimes worn an aspect which might impose on strangers unused to think freely, and to speak and to write what they think; but this being now decided by the voice of the nation, announced according to the rules of the Constitution, all will of course arrange themselves under the will of the law, and unite in common efforts for the common good. All too will bear in mind this sacred principle, that though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will, to be rightful, must be reasonable; that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal laws must protect, and to violate which would be oppression. Let us, then, fellow-citizens, unite with one heart and one

mind, let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection without which liberty, and even life itself, are but dreary things. And let us reflect, that having banished from our land that religious intolerance under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have yet gained little, if we countenance a political intolerance, as despotic as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions. During the throes and convulsions of the ancient world, during the agonizing spasms of infuriated man, seeking through blood and slaughter his long-lost liberty, it was not wonderful that the agitation of the billows should reach even this distant and peaceful shore; that this should be felt and feared by some, and less by others; and should divide opinions as to measures of safety; but every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all Republicans; we are all Federalists. If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union, or to change its Republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated, where reason is left free to combat it. I know, indeed, that some honest men fear that a Republican government cannot be strong; that this government is not strong enough. But would the honest patriot, in the full tide of successful experiment, abandon a government which has so far kept us free and firm, on the theoretic and visionary fear, that this government, the world's best hope, may, by possibility, want energy to preserve itself? I trust not. I believe this, on the contrary, the strongest government on earth. I believe it the only one, where every man, at the call of the law, would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet the invasions of the public order as his own personal concern. Sometimes it is said, that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he then be trusted with the government of others? Or, have we found angels in the form of kings, to govern him? Let history answer this question.

"Let us, then, with courage and confidence, pursue our own Federal and Republican principles; our attachment to union

and representative government. Kindly separated by nature and a wide ocean from the exterminating havoc of one-quarter of the globe; too high-minded to endure the degradations of the others; possessing a chosen country, with room enough for our descendants to the thousandth and thousandth generation; entertaining a due sense of our equal right to the use of our own faculties, to the acquisition of our own industry, to honor and confidence from our fellow-citizens, resulting not from birth, but from our actions and our sense of them; enlightened by a benign religion, professed indeed and practiced in various forms, yet all of them inculcating honesty, truth, temperance, gratitude, and the love of man; acknowledging and adoring an overruling Providence, which, by all its dispensations, proves that it delights in the happiness of man here, and his greater happiness hereafter; with all these blessings, what more is necessary to make us a happy and prosperous nation? Still one thing more, fellow-citizens, a wise and frugal government which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them free to regulate their own pursuit of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government; and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities.

"About to enter, fellow-citizens, on the exercise of duties which comprehend everything dear and valuable to you, it is proper you should understand what I deem the essential principles of our government, and consequently, those which ought to shape its administration. I will compress them within the narrowest compass they will bear, stating the general principle, but not all its limitations. Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none; the support of the State governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against anti-Republican tendencies; the preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet-anchor of our peace at home, and safety abroad; a jealous care of the right of

election by the people, a mild and safe corrective of abuses which are lopped by the sword of revolution where peaceable remedies are unprovided; absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of the republics, from which there is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism; a well-disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace, and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them; the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; economy in the public expense, that labor might be lightly burdened; the honest payment of our debts and sacred preservation of the public faith; encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid; the diffusion of information, and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of public reason; freedom of religion; freedom of the press; and freedom of person, under the protection of the habeas corpus; and trial by juries impartially selected. These principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us, and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages, and blood of our heroes, have been devoted to their attainment; they should be the creed of our political faith, the text of civic instruction, the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust; and should we wander from them in moments of error or of alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps, and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety.

"I repair, then, fellow-citizens, to the post you have assigned me. With experience enough in subordinate offices to have seen the difficulties of this, the greatest of all, I have learned to expect that it will rarely fall to the lot of imperfect man, to retire from this station with the reputation and the favor which bring him to it. Without pretensions to that high confidence you reposed in our first and greatest revolutionary character, whose pre-eminent services had entitled him to the first place in his country's love, and destined for him the fairest page in the volume of faithful history, I ask so much confidence only as may give firmness and effect to the legal administration of your affairs. I shall often go wrong through defect of judgment.

When right, I shall often be thought wrong by those whose positions will not command a view of the whole ground. I ask your indulgence for my own errors, which will never be intentional; and your support against the errors of others, who may condemn what they would not, if seen in all its parts. The approbation implied by your suffrage, is a great consolation to me for the past; and my future solicitude will be, to retain the good opinion of those who have bestowed it in advance, to conciliate that of others, by doing them all the good in my power, and to be instrumental to the happiness and freedom of all.

"Relying, then, on the patronage of your good-will, I advance with obedience to the work, ready to retire from it whenever you become sensible how much better choice it is in your power to make. And may that Infinite Power which rules the destinies of the universe, lead our councils to what is best, and give them a favorable issue for your peace and prosperity."

INAUGURAL ADDRESS (SECOND).

On taking this station on a former occasion I declared the principles on which I believed it my duty to administer the affairs of our Commonwealth. My conscience tells me that I have, on every occasion, acted up to that declaration, according to its obvious import and to the understanding of every candid mind.

In the transaction of your foreign affairs we have endeavored to cultivate the friendship of all nations, and especially of those with which we have the most important relations. We have done them justice on all occasions, favored where favor was lawful and cherished mutual interests and intercourse on fair and equal terms. We are firmly convinced, and we act on that conviction, that with nations, as with individuals, our interests soundly calculated will ever be found inseparable from our moral duties; and history bears witness to the fact that a just nation is trusted on its word when recourse is had to armaments and wars to bridle others.

At home, fellow-citizens, you best know where we have done well or ill. The suppression of unnecessary offices, of useless

establishments and expenses, enabled us to discontinue our internal taxes. These, covering our land with offices and opening our doors to their intrusions, had already begun that process of domiciliary vexation which, once entered, is scarcely to be restrained from reaching successively every article of produce and property. If among these taxes some minor ones fell, which had not been inconvenient, it was because their amount would not have paid the officers who collected them, and because, if they had any merit, the State authorities might adopt them instead of others less approved.

This remaining revenue on the consumption of foreign articles is paid cheerfully by those who can afford to add foreign luxuries to domestic comforts, being collected on our seaboard and frontiers only and incorporated with the transactions of our mercantile citizens, it may be the pleasure and the pride of an American to ask: What farmer, what mechanic, what laborer ever sees a tax-gatherer of the United States? These contributions enable us to support the current expenses of the government; to fulfil contracts with foreign nations; to extinguish the native right of soil within our limits; to extend those limits; and to apply such a surplus to our public debt as places, at a short day, their final redemption; and that redemption once effected, the revenue thereby liberated may, by a just repartition of it among the States and a corresponding amendment of the Constitution, be applied in time of peace to rivers, canals, roads, arts, manufactures, education and other great objects within each State. In time of war, if injustice by ourselves or others must sometimes produce war, increased as the same revenue will be by increased population and consumption and aided by other resources reserved for that crisis, it may meet within the year all the expenses of the year, without encroaching on the rights of future generations by burdening them with the debts of the past. War will, then, be but a suspension of useful works; and a return to a state of peace, a return to the progress of improvement.

I have said, fellow-citizens, that the income reserved had enabled us to extend our limits; but that extension may pos-

sibly pay for itself before we are called on; and, in the meantime, may keep down the accruing interest; in all events, it will replace the advances we shall have made. I know that the acquisition of Louisiana has been disapproved by some, from a candid apprehension that the enlargement of our territory would endanger its union. But who can limit the event to which the federative principle may operate effectively? The larger our association, the less will it be shaken by local passions; and, in any view, is it not better that the opposite bank of the Mississippi should be settled by our own brethren and children, than by strangers of another family? With which should we be most likely to live in harmony and friendly intercourse?

In matters of religion, I have considered that its free exercise is placed by the Constitution independent of the powers of the general government. I have therefore undertaken, on no occasion, to prescribe the religious exercises suited to it; but have left them, as the Constitution found them, under the direction and discipline of the Church or State authorities acknowledged by the several religious societies.

The aboriginal inhabitants of these countries I have regarded with the commiseration their history inspires. Endowed with the faculties and the rights of men, breathing an ardent love of liberty and independence, and occupying a country which left them no desire but to be undisturbed, the stream of overflowing population from other regions directed itself on these shores. Without power to divert, or habits to contend against it, they have been overwhelmed by the current, or driven before it. Now reduced within limits too narrow for the hunter state, humanity enjoins us to teach them agriculture and the domestic arts; to encourage them to that industry which alone can enable them to maintain their place in existence; and to prepare them in time for that state of society which, to bodily comforts, adds the improvement of the mind and morals. We have therefore liberally furnished them with the implements of husbandry and household use; we have placed among them instructors in the arts of first necessity; and they are covered

with the aegis of the law against aggressors from among ourselves.

But the endeavor to enlighten them on the fate which awaits their present course of life, to induce them to exercise their reason, follow its dictates and change their pursuits with the change of circumstances, have powerful obstacles to encounter. They are combated by the habits of their bodies, prejudices of their minds, ignorance, pride and influence of interested and crafty individuals among them, who feel themselves something in the present order of things, and fear to become nothing in any other. These persons inculcate a sanctimonious reverence for the customs of their ancestors; that whatsoever they did must be done through all time; that reason is a false guide, and to advance under its counsel, in their physical, moral or political condition, is perilous innovation; that their duty is to remain as their Creator made them, ignorance being safety, and knowledge being full of danger; in short, my friends, among them is seen the action and counteraction of good sense and bigotry; they too have their anti-philosophers, who find an interest in keeping things in their present state, who dread reformation, and exert all their faculties to maintain the ascendency of habit over the duty of improving their reason and obeying its mandates.

In giving these outlines I do not mean, fellow-citizens, to arrogate to myself the merit of the measures; that is due, in the first place, to the reflecting character of our citizens at large, who, by the weight of public opinion, influence and strengthen the public measures; it is due to the sound discretion with which they select from among themselves those to whom they confide the legislative duties; it is due to the zeal and wisdom of the characters thus selected, who lay the foundations of public happiness in wholesome laws, the execution of which alone remains for others; and it is due to the able and faithful auxiliaries, whose patriotism has associated with me in the executive functions.

During the course of administration, and in order to disturb it, the artillery of the press has been levelled against us, charged

with whatsoever its licentiousness could devise or dare. These abuses of an institution so important to freedom and science are deeply to be regretted, inasmuch as they tend to lessen its usefulness and to sap its safety; they might, indeed, have been corrected by the wholesome punishments reserved and provided by the laws of the several States against falsehood and defamation; but public duties more urgent press on the time of public servants, and the offenders have therefore been left to find their punishment in the public indignation.

Nor was it uninteresting to the world, that an experiment should be fairly and fully made, whether freedom of discussion, unaided by power, is not sufficient for the propagation and protection of truth? Whether a government, conducting itself in the true spirit of the Constitution, with zeal and purity, and doing no act which it would be unwilling the whole world should witness, can be written down by falsehood and defamation? The experiment has been tried. You have witnessed the scene. Our fellow-citizens have looked on cool and collected. They saw the latest source from which these outrages proceeded. They gathered around their public functionaries; and when the Constitution called them to the decision by suffrage they pronounced their verdict honorable to those who served them, and consolatory to the friend of man, who believes that he may be trusted with the control of his own affairs.

No inference is here intended that the laws, provided by the State against false and defamatory publications, should not be enforced; he who has time renders a service to public morals and public tranquillity in reforming these abuses by the salutary coercions of the law. But the experiment is noted to prove that, since truth and reason have maintained their ground against false opinions, in league with false facts, the press, confined to truth, needs no other legal restraint. The public judgment will correct false reasonings and opinions, on a full hearing of all parties; and no other definite line can be drawn between the inestimable liberty of the press and its demoralizing licentiousness. If there be still improprieties which this

rule would not restrain, its supplement must be sought in the censorship of public opinion.

Contemplating the union of sentiment now manifested so generally, as auguring harmony and happiness to our future course, I offer to our country sincere congratulations. With those, too, not yet rallied to the same point, the disposition to do so is gaining strength. Facts are piercing through the veil drawn over them; and our doubting brethren will at length see that the mass of their fellow-citizens, with whom they cannot yet resolve to act, as to principles and measures, think as they think, and desire what they desire; that our wish, as well as theirs, is that the public efforts may be directed honestly to the public good; that peace be cultivated; civil and religious liberty unassailed; law and order preserved; equality of rights maintained; and that state of property, equal or unequal, which results to every man from his own industry, or that of his father's. When satisfied of these views, it is not in human nature that they should not approve and support them. In the meantime, let us cherish them with patient affection; let us do them justice, and more than justice, in all competitions of interest; and we need not doubt that truth, reason, and their own interests will at length prevail, will gather them into the fold of their country, and will complete that entire union of opinion which gives to a nation the blessing of harmony, and the benefit of all its strength.

I shall now enter on the duties to which my fellow-citizens have again called me, and shall proceed in the spirit of those principles which they have approved. I fear not that any motives of interest may lead me astray. I am sensible of no passion which could seduce me, knowingly, from the path of justice; but the weaknesses of human nature, and the limits of my own understanding, will produce errors of judgment, sometimes injurious to your interests. I shall need, therefore, all the indulgence which I have hitherto experienced from my constituents. The want of it will certainly not lessen with increasing years. I shall need, too, the favor of that Being in whose hands we are; who led our fathers, as Israel of old,

from their native land, and planted them in a country flowing with all the necessaries and comforts of life; who has covered our infancy with His providence, and our riper years with His wisdom and power; and to whose goodness I ask you to join in supplications with me, that He will so enlighten the minds of your servants, guide their councils, and prosper their measures, that whatsoever they do shall result in your good, and shall secure to you the peace, friendship, and approbation of all nations. (Annals of Congress, Second Session, Eighth Congress, p. 77.)

INDEPENDENCE.—Not only the principles of common-sense, but the feelings of human nature, must be surrendered up before his Majesty's subjects here can be persuaded to believe that they hold their political existence at the will of a British Parliament. Shall these governments be dissolved, their property annihilated, and their people reduced to a state of nature at the imperious breath of a body of men whom they never saw, in whom they never confided, and over whom they have no power of punishment or removal, let their crimes against American public be ever so great? Can any one reason be assigned why 160,000 electors in the Island of Great Britain should give law to four millions in the States of America, every individual of whom is equal to every individual of them, in virtue, in understanding, and in bodily strength? (From "Summary View," 1774. F. I., 436.)

INDEPENDENCE.—But we do not point out to his majesty the injustice of these acts, with intent to rest on that principle the cause of their nullity; but to show that experience confirms the propriety of those political principles which exempt us from the jurisdiction of the British Parliament. The true ground on which we declare these acts void is that the British Parliament has no right to exercise its authority over us. (From "A Summary View," 1774. F. I., 434.)

INDEPENDENCE.—The British Parliament has no right to intermeddle with the support of civil government in the colonies. For us, not for them, has government been instituted here. * * * We conceive that we alone are the judges of the

conditions, circumstances and situation of our people as the Parliament are of theirs. (From an address to Governor Dunmore of Virginia, 1775. F. I., 456.)

INDEPENDENCE.—I suppose they, the Virginia Convention, will tell us what to say on the subject of independence, but hope respect will be expressed to the right of opinion in other colonies who may happen to differ from them. When at home I took great pains to inquire into the sentiments of the people on that head. In the upper counties I think I may safely say nine out of ten are for it. (To Thomas Nelson, 1776. F. II., 3.)

INDEPENDENCE.—This Congress, bound by the voice of their constituents, which coincides with their own sentiments, have no power to enter into conference or to receive any propositions upon the subject of peace which do not as a preliminary acknowledge these States to be sovereign and independent; and whenever this shall have been authoritatively admitted on the part of Great Britain, they shall at all times and with that earnestness which the love of peace and justice inspires, be ready to enter into conference or treaty for the purpose of stopping the effusion of so much kindred blood. (From a resolution offered in Congress, 1776. F. II., 90.)

INDEPENDENCE.—If any doubt has arisen as to me, my country will have my political creed in the form of a Declaration, &c., which I was lately directed to draw. This will give decisive proof that my own sentiment concurred with the vote they instructed me to give. (To William Flemming, July 1, 1776. F. II., 41.)

INDEPENDENCE, DECLARATION OF.—(From the fac-simile of Jefferson's own draft now in the State Department. The parts in italics were stricken out by Congress.)

A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the

opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with *inherent and* inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations *begun at a distinguished period and* pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to *expunge* their former system of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of *unremitting injuries* and usurpations, *among which appears no solitary fact to contradict the uniform tenor of the rest, but all have* in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world, *for the truth of which we pledge a faith yet unsullied by falsehood.*

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation

till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly *and continually* for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time after such dissolutions to cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise, the State remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has *suffered* the administration of justice *totally to cease in some of these States,* refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made *our* judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, *by a self-assumed power* and sent hither swarms of new officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us in times of peace standing armies, *and ships of war* without the consent of our Legislatures.

He has effected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions and acknowledged by our laws, giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation for quartering large bodies of troops among us; for protecting them by a mock trial from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States; for cutting off our trade with all parts of the world; for imposing taxes on us without our consent; for depriving us of the benefits of trial by jury; for transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offenses; for abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these *States;* for taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments; for suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, *withdrawing his governors, and declaring us out of his allegiance and protection.*

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the work of death, desolation, and tyranny already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens taken captive on the high seas to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontier the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions *of existence.*

He has incited treasonable insurrections of our fellow-citizens with the allurements of forfeiture and confiscation of property.

He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating

its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation hither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the CHRISTIAN King of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where men should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he also obtruded them; thus paying off former crimes committed against the liberties of one people with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injuries.

A Prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant is unfit to be the ruler of a people *who mean to be free. Future ages will scarcely believe that the hardiness of one man adventured, within the short compass of twelve years only, to lay a foundation so broad and so undisguised for tyranny over a people fostered and fixed in principles of freedom.*

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend *a* jurisdiction over *these our States.* We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here, *no one of which could warrant so strange a pretension; that these were effected at the expense of our own blood and treasure, unassisted by the wealth or the strength of Great Britain; that in constituting indeed our several forms of government, we had adopted one common king, thereby laying a foundation for perpetual league and amity with them; but that submission to their parliament was*

no part of our Constitution, nor ever in idea, if history may be credited; and we appealed to their native justice and magnanimity *as well as to* the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations which *were likely to* interrupt our connection and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity, *and when occasions have been given them, by the regular course of their laws, of removing from their councils the disturbers of our harmony, they have, by their free election, re-established them in power. At this very time, too, they are permitting their chief magistrate to send over not only soldiers of our common blood, but Scotch and foreign mercenaries to invade and destroy us. These facts have given the last stab to agonizing affection, and manly spirit bids us to renounce forever these unfeeling brethren. We must endeavor to forget our former love for them and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends. We might have been a free and a great people together; but a communication of grandeur and of freedom, it seems, is below their dignity. Be it so, since they will have it. The road to happiness and to glory is open to us too. We will tread it apart from them, and* acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our *eternal* separation.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, do in the name, and by the authority of the good people of these *States, reject and renounce all allegiance and subjection to the Kings of Great Britain and all others who may hereafter claim by, through, or under them; we utterly dissolve all political connection which may heretofore have subsisted between us and the people or Parliament of Great Britain; and, finally, we do assert and declare these Colonies to be free and independent States*, and that as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do.

And for the support of this declaration, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

INDEPENDENCE.—Independence and the establishment of a new form of government, were not even in 1776 the objects of the people at large. The idea had not been opened to the mass of the people in April, much less can it be said that they had made up their minds in its favor. (From "Notes on Virginia," 1782. F. III., 226.)

INDIANS.—No lands shall be appropriated until purchased of the Indian native proprietors; nor shall any purchases be made of them but on behalf of the public, by authority of acts of the General Assembly to be passed for every purchase specially. (From a proposed Constitution for Virginia. 1776. F. II., 25.)

INDIANS.—I am of the opinion that the Government should firmly maintain this ground; that the Indians have a right to the occupation of their lands independent of the States within whose chartered lands they happen to be; that the Government is determined to exert all its energy for the patronage and protection of the rights of the Indians, and the preservation of peace between the United States and them, and that any settlements are made on lands not ceded by them, without the previous consent of the United States, the Government will think itself bound, not only to declare to the Indians that such settlements are without the authority or protection of the United States, but to remove them also by public force. (From an opinion submitted to the Secretary of War, 1791. F. V., 370.)

INDIANS.—I hope we shall drub the Indians well this summer and then change our plan from war to bribery. We must do as the Spaniards and English do, keep them in peace by liberal and constant presents. They find it the cheapest plan and so shall we. This expense of this summer's expedition would have served as presents for half a century. In this way hostilities being suspended for some length of time, a real affection may succeed on our frontiers to that hatred now existing there. (To James Monroe, 1791. F. V., 319.)

INDIANS.—In truth, the ultimate point of rest and happiness for them is to let our settlements and theirs meet and blend together, to intermix, and become one people. Incorporating themselves with us as citizens of the United States, this is

what the natural progress of things will of course bring on, and it will be better to promote than retard it. Surely it will be better for them to be identified with us, and preserved in the occupation of their lands, than be exposed to the many casualties which may endanger them while a separate people. (To Benjamin Hawkins. 1803. F. VIII., 214.)

INDIANS.—In order to provide an extension of territory which the rapid increase of our number will call for, two measures are deemed expedient. First: to encourage them to abandon hunting, to apply to the raising of stock, to agriculture and domestic manufacture, and thereby prove to themselves that less land and labor will maintain them in this, better than in their former way of living. The extensive forests necessary in the hunting life will then become useless, and they will see advantage in exchanging them for the means of improving their farms, and of increasing their domestic comforts. Secondly: to multiply trading houses among them, and place within their reach those things which will contribute more to their domestic comfort than the possession of extensive but uncultivated wilds. Experience and reflection will develop to them the wisdom of exchanging what they can spare and what we want, for what we can spare and they want. In leading them to manufactures, to agriculture, and civilization; in bringing together their and our settlements, and in preparing them ultimately to participate in the benefits of our government, I trust and believe we are acting for their greatest good. (From a Confidential Message to the House of Representatives. 1803. F. VIII., 196-200.)

INDIANS.—My friends and children, I have now an important advice to give you. I have already told you that you and all the red men are my children, and I wish you to live in peace and friendship with one another as brethren of the same family ought to do. How much better is it for neighbors to help than to hurt one another; how much happier must it make them. If you will cease to make war on one another, if you will live in friendship with all mankind, you can employ all your time in providing food and clothing for yourselves and your families. Your men will not be destroyed in war, and

your women and children will lie down to sleep in their cabins without fear of being surprised by their enemies and killed or carried away. Your numbers will increase instead of diminishing, and you will live in plenty and in quiet. My children, I have given this advice to all your red brethren on this side of the Mississippi; they are following it, they are increasing in their numbers, are learning to clothe and provide for their families as we do. Remember then my advice, my children; carry it home to your people, and tell them that from the day that they have become all of the same family, from the day that we become father to them all, we wish, as a true father should do, that we may all live together as one household, and that before they strike one another, they should go to their father and let him endeavor to make up the quarrel. (Address to the Mander Nation. 1806. C. VIII., 201.)

INDIANS.—In this war it is our wish the Indians should be quiet spectators, not wasting their blood in quarrels which do not concern them; that we are strong enough to fight our own battles, and therefore ask no help; and if the English should ask theirs, it should convince them that it proceeds from a sense of their own weakness which would not augur success in the end; that at the same time, as we have learnt that some tribes are already expressing intentions hostile to the United States, we think it proper to apprise them of the ground on which they now stand; for which purpose we make to them this solemn declaration of our unalterable determination, that we wish them to live in peace with all nations as well as with us, and we have no intention ever to strike them or to do them an injury of any sort, unless first attacked or threatened; but that learning that some of them meditate war on us, we, too, are preparing for war against those, and those only who shall seek it; and that if ever we are constrained to lift the hatchet against any tribe, we will never lay it down until that tribe is exterminated or driven beyond the Mississippi. Abjuring them, therefore, if they wish to remain on the land which covers the bones of their fathers, to keep the peace with a people who ask their friendship with-

out needing it, who wish to avoid war without fearing it. In war, they will kill some of us; we shall destroy all of them. Let them then continue quiet at home, take care of their women and children, and remove from among them the agents of any nation persuading them to war, and let them declare to us explicitly and categorically that they will do this; in which case they will have nothing to fear from the preparations we are now unwillingly making to secure our own safety. (To the Secretary of War. 1807. C. V., 176.)

INDUSTRY.—It is your future happiness which interests me, and nothing can contribute more to it (moral rectitude always excepted) than the contracting a habit of industry and activity. Of all the cankers of human happiness none corrodes with so silent yet so baleful an influence as indolence. Body and mind both unemployed, our being becomes a burthen, and every object about us loathsome, even the dearest. Idleness begets *ennui, ennui* the hypochondriac, and that a diseased body. No laborious person was ever yet hysterical. Exercise and application produce order in our affairs, health of body and cheerfulness of mind, and these make us precious to our friends. It is while we are young that the habit of industry is formed. If not then, it never is afterwards. The future of our lives, therefore, depends on employing well the short period of youth. If at any moment, my dear, you catch yourself in idleness, start from it as you would from the precipice of a gulf. (To Martha Jefferson, 1787. F. IV., 372.)

INDUSTRY.—A mind always employed is always happy. This is the true secret, the grand recipe for felicity. The idle are only the wretched. In a world which furnishes so many employments which are useful, so many which are amusing, it is our own fault if we ever know what *ennui* is, or if we are ever driven to the miserable resources of gaming, which corrupts our dispositions, and teaches us a habit of hostility against all mankind. (To Martha Jefferson, 1787. F. IV., 389.)

INHERITANCES.—Thomas Jefferson is of the opinion that the incompetence of the general government to legislate on the subject of inheritances is a reason the more against the Presi-

dent's becoming the channel of a petition to them. (From an opinion submitted to Washington, 1792. F. VI., 133.)

INSURRECTIONS.—The case of opposition to the embargo laws on the Canada line, I take to be that of distinct combinations of a number of individuals to oppose by force and arms the execution of those laws, for which purpose they go armed, fire upon the public guards, in one instance at least have wounded one dangerously, and rescue property held under these laws. This may not be an insurrection in the popular sense of the word, but being arrayed in war-like manner, actually committing acts of war, and persevering systematically in defiance of the public authority, bring it so fully within the legal definition of an insurrection, that I should not hesitate to issue a proclamation, were I not restrained by motives of which your Excellency seems to be apprised. * * * I think it so important in example to crush the audacious proceedings, and to make the offenders feel the consequences of individuals daring to oppose a law by force, that no effort should be spared to compass this object. (To Governor Tompkins, 1808. C. V., 343.)

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.—You will have learned that an act for internal improvement, after passing both Houses, was negatived by the President. The act was founded, avowedly, on the principle that the phrase in the Constitution which authorizes Congress "to lay taxes, to pay debts and provide for the general welfare," was an extension of the powers specifically enumerated to whatever would promote the general welfare; and this you know was the federal doctrine. Whereas, our tenet ever was, and indeed, it is the only landmark which now divides the Federalists from the Republicans, that Congress had not unlimited powers to provide for the general welfare, but were restrained to those specifically enumerated; and that, as it was never meant they should provide for the welfare, but by the exercise of the enumerated powers, so it could not have been meant they should raise money for purposes which the enumeration did not place under their action; consequently, that the specification of powers is a limitation of the purposes for which they may raise money. I think the passage and

rejection of this bill a fortunate incident. (To Albert Gallatin, 1817. C. VII., 78.)

INVENTIONS.—It has been pretended by some (and in England especially) that inventors have a natural and exclusive right to their inventions, and not merely for their own lives, but inheritable to their heirs. But while it is a mooted question whether the origin of any kind of property is derived from nature at all, it would be singular to admit a natural and even an hereditary right to inventors. It is agreed by those who have seriously considered the subject, that no individual has of natural right a separate property in an acre of land for instance. By an universal law, indeed, whatever, whether fixed or movable, belongs to all men equally and in common is the property for the moment of him who occupies it; but when he relinquishes the occupation the property goes with it. Stable ownership is the gift of social law, and is given late in the progress of society. It would be curious then, if an idea, the fugitive fermentation of an individual brain, could, of natural right, be claimed in exclusive and stable property. If nature has made any one thing less susceptible than all others of exclusive property, it is the action of the thinking power called an idea, which an individual may exclusively possess as long as he keeps it to himself; but the moment it is divulged it forces itself into the possession of every one, and the receiver cannot dispossess himself of it. Its peculiar character, too, is that no one possesses the less, because every other possesses the whole of it. He who receives an idea from me receives instruction himself without lessening mine, receives light without darkening me. That ideas should freely spread from one to another over the globe, for the moral and mutual instruction of man and improvement of his condition, seems to have been peculiarly and benevolently designed by nature, when she made them, like fire, expansible over all space, without lessening their density in any point, and like the air in which we breathe, move and have our physical being, incapable of confinement or exclusive appropriation. Inventions, then, can not, in nature, be a subject of property. Society may give an exclusive right

to the profits arising therefrom, as an encouragement to men to pursue ideas which may produce utility, but this may or may not be done, according to the will and convenience of the society, without claim or complaint from anybody. Accordingly, it is a fact, as far as I am informed, that England was, until we copied her, the only country on earth which ever, by a general law, gave a legal right to the exclusive use of an idea. In some other countries it is sometimes done, in a great case, and by a special and personal act, but generally speaking, other nations have thought that these monopolies produce more embarrassment than advantage to society; and it may be observed that the nations which refuse monopolies of invention are as fruitful as England in new and useful devices. (To Isaac McPherson, 1813. C. VI., 180.)

JACOBINS.—The society of Jacobins, in another country, was instituted on principles and views as virtuous as ever kindled the hearts of patriots. It was the pure patriotism of their purposes which extended their association to the limits of the nation, and rendered their power within it boundless; and it was this power which degenerated their principles and practices to such enormities as never before could have been imagined. (To Jedidiah Morse, 1822. C. VII., 235.)

JAY'S TREATY.—The most remarkable political occurrence with us has been the treaty with England, of which no man in the United States has had the affrontery to affirm that it was not a very bad one except A. Hamilton, under the signature of Camillus. Its most zealous defenders only pretended that it was better than war, as if war was not invited rather than avoided by unfounded demands. I have never known the public pulse beat so full and in such universal union on any subject since the Declaration of Independence. (To James Monroe, 1795. F. VII., 58.)

JAY'S TREATY.—Mr. Jay's treaty has at length been made public. So general a burst of dissatisfaction never before appeared against any transaction. Those who understand the particular articles of it condemn those articles. Those who do not understand them minutely condemn it generally as wearing

a hostile face to France. * * * It has in my opinion completely demolished the monarchical party here. (To James Monroe, 1795. F. VII., 27.)

JESUS.—In this state of things among Jews, Jesus appeared. His parentage was obscure; his condition poor; his education null; his natural endowments great; his life correct and innocent; he was meek, benevolent, patient, firm, disinterested and of the sublimest eloquence.

The disadvantages under which his doctrine appeared are remarkable.

1. Like Socrates and Epictetus, he wrote nothing himself.

2. But he had not, like them, a Xenophon or an Arrian to write for him. On the contrary, all the learned of his country, entrenched in its power and riches, were opposed to him, lest his labors should undermine their advantages; and the committing to writing his life and doctrines fell on the most unlettered and ignorant men, who wrote, too, from memory, and not till long after the transaction had passed.

3. According to the ordinary fate of those who attempt to enlighten and reform mankind, he fell an early victim to the jealousy and combination of the altar and the throne, at about 33 years of age, his reason having not yet attained the maximum of its energy, nor the course of his preaching, which was but of three years at most, presented occasions for developing a complete set of morals.

4. Hence the doctrines which he really delivered were defective as a whole, and fragments only of what he did deliver have come to us mutilated, misstated and often unintelligible.

5. They have been still more disfigured by the corruptions of schismatising followers, who have found an interest in sophisticating and perverting the simple doctrines he taught by engrafting on them the mysticisms of a Grecian sophist, frittering them into subtilities and obscuring them with jargon, until they have caused good men to reject the whole in disgust and to view Jesus himself as an impostor.

Notwithstanding these disadvantages, a system of morals is presented to us, which, if filled up in the true style and spirit

of the rich fragments he left us, would be the most perfect and sublime that has ever been taught by man.

The question of his being a member of the Godhead, or in direct communication with it, claimed for him by some of his followers and denied by others, is foreign to the present view, which is merely an estimate of the intrinsic merit of his doctrines.

1. He corrected the deism of the Jews, confirming them in their belief of one only God, and giving them juster notions of his attributes and government.

2. His moral doctrines, relating to kindred and friends, were more pure and perfect than those of the most correct philosophers, and greatly more so than those of the Jews; and they went far beyond both in inculcating universal philanthropy, not only to kindred and friends, to neighbors and countrymen, but to all mankind, gathering all into one family, under the bonds of love, charity, peace, common wants and common aids. A development of this head will evince the peculiar superiority of the system of Jesus over all others.

3. The precepts of philosophy and of the Hebrew code, laid hold of actions only. He pushed his scrutinies into the heart of man; erected his tribunal in the region of his thoughts, and purified the waters at the fountain head.

4. He taught emphatically the doctrines of a future state, which was either doubted or disbelieved by the Jews; and wielded it with efficacy as an important incentive, supplementary to the other motives to moral conduct. (To Benjamin Rush, 1803. F. VIII., 227.)

Jesus.—My aim was to justify the character of Jesus against the fictions of his pseudo-followers, which have exposed him to the inference of being an impostor. For if we could believe that he really countenanced the follies, the falsehoods and the charlatanism which his biographers fasten on him, and admit the misconstructions, interpolations and theorizations of the fathers of the early and fanatic of the later ages, the conclusion would be irresistible by every sound mind that he was an impostor. I give no credit to their falsifications of his

doctrines and his actions, and to rescue his character the postulate in my letter asked only what is granted in reading every other historian. When Livy and Siculus, for example, tell us things which coincide with our experience of the order of nature, we credit them on their word, and place their narrations among the records of credible history. But when they tell us of calves speaking, of statues sweating blood, and other things against the course of nature, we reject these as fables not belonging to history. In like manner when an historian, speaking of a character well known and established on satisfactory testimony, imputes to it things incompatible with that character, we reject them without hesitation, and assent to that only of which we have better evidence. (To William Short, 1820. C. VII., 164.)

JESUS.—See Christianity, Religion.

JUDGES.—For misbehavior of judges the grand inquest of the Colony, the House of Representatives, should impeach them before the Governor and Council, when they should have time and opportunity to make their defense; but if convicted, should be removed from their offices and subjected to such other punishment as shall be thought proper. (To George Wythe, 1776. F. II., 60.)

JUDICIARY.—The dignity and stability of government in all its branches, the morals of the people, and every blessing of society, depend so much upon an upright and skilful administration of justice that the judicial power ought to be distinct from both the legislature and executive, and independent upon both, that so it may be a check upon both, as both should be a check upon that. The judges, therefore, should be men of learning and experience in the laws, of exemplary morals, great patience, calmness and attention; their minds should not be distracted with jarring interests; they should not be dependent upon any man or body of men. To these ends they should hold estates for life in their offices, or, in other words, their commissions should be during good behavior, and their salaries ascertained and established by law. (To George Wythe, 1776. F. II., 60.)

JUDICIARY.—The judiciary of the United States is the subtle

corps of sappers and miners constantly working underground to undermine the foundations of our confederate fabric. They are construing our Constitution from a co-ordination of a general and special government to a general and supreme one alone. This will lay all things at their feet, and they are too well versed in English law to forget the maxim, *"boni Judicis est ampliare jurisdictionem."* We shall see if they are bold enough to take the daring stride their five lawyers have lately taken. If they do, then, with the editor of our book, in his address to the public, I will say that "against this every man should raise his voice," and more, should uplift his arm. Who wrote this admirable address? Sound, luminous, strong, not a word too much, nor one which can be changed but for the worse. That pen should go on, lay bare these words of our Constitution, expose the decisions *seriatim,* and arouse, as it is able, the attention of the nation to these bold speculators on its patience. Having found, from experience, that impeachment is an impracticable thing, a mere scarecrow, they consider themselves secure for life; they sculk from responsibility to public opinion, the only remaining hold on them, under a practice first introduced into England by Lord Mansfield. An opinion is huddled up in conclave, perhaps by a majority of one, delivered as if unanimous, and with the silent acquiescence of lazy or timid associates, and with a crafty chief judge, who sophisticated the law to his mind, by the turn of his own reasoning. A judiciary law was once reported by the Attorney General to Congress, requiring each judge to deliver his opinion *seriatim* and openly, and then give it in writing to the clerk to be entered on the record. A judiciary independent of a king or executive alone is a good thing; but independence of the will of the nation is a solecism, at least in a republican government. (To Thomas Ritchie, 1820. C. VII., 192.)

JUDICIARY, FEDERAL.—I well knew that in certain federal cases the laws of the United States had given to a foreign party, whether plaintive or defendant, a right to carry his cause into the federal court; but I did not know that where he had himself elected the State judicature, he could after an unfavorable

decision there remove his case to the federal court and thus take the benefit of two chances where others have but one; nor that the right of entertaining the question in this case had been exercised by the federal judiciary after it had been postponed on the party's first election. * * * I hope our courts will never countenance the sweeping pretensions which have been set up under the words "general defence and public welfare." The words only express the motives which induced the Constitution to give the ordinary Legislature certain specified powers which they enumerated which they thought might be trusted to the ordinary Legislature and not to give them the unspecified also; or why any specification? They could not be so awkward in language as to mean, as we say, "all and some." And should this construction prevail, all limits to the federal government are done away. (To Judge Roane, 1815. C. VI., 494.)

JUDICIARY, FEDERAL.—The nation (in 1800) declared its will by dismissing functionaries of one principle and electing those of another in the two branches, executive and legislative, submitted to their election. Over the judiciary department the Constitution had deprived them of their control. That, therefore, has continued the reprobated system, and although new matter has occasionally been incorporated into the old, yet the leaven of the old mass seems to assimilate to itself the new, and after twenty years' confirmation of the federated system by the voice of the nation declared through the medium of election we find the judiciary on every occasion still drawing us into consolidation. In denying the right they usurp of exclusively explaining the Constitution I go further than you do, if I understand rightly your quotation from the Federalist of an opinion that "the judiciary is the last resort in relation to the other departments of the government, but not in relation to the rights of the parties to the compact under which the judiciary is derived." If this opinion be sound then indeed is our Constitution a complete *felo de se*. For intending to establish three departments, co-ordinate and independent, that they might check and balance one another, it has given accord-

ing to this opinion, to one of them alone the right to prescribe rules for the government of the others, and to that one, too, which is unelected by and independent of the nation. For experience has already shown that the impeachment it has provided is not even a scarecrow, that such opinions as the one you combat sent cautiously out, as you observe also by detachment, not belonging to the case often, but sought for out of it as if to rally the public opinion beforehand to their views and to indicate the line they are to walk in, have been so quietly passed over as never to have excited animadversion even in a speech of any one of the body entrusted with impeachment. The Constitution, on this hypothesis, is a mere thing of wax in the hands of the judiciary, which they may twist and shape into any form they please. It should be remembered as an axiom of eternal truth in politics that whatever power in any government is independent is absolute also, in theory only at first, while the spirit of the people is up, but in practice as fast as that relaxes. Independence can be trusted nowhere but with the people in the mass. They are inherently independent of all but moral law. My construction of the Constitution is very different from that you quote. It is that each department is truly independent of the others, and has an equal right to decide for itself what is the meaning of the Constitution in the cases submitted to its action, and especially where it is to act ultimately and without appeal. I will explain myself by examples which have occurred while I was in office and better known to me and the principles which governed them.

A legislature had passed a sedition law. The federal courts had subjected certain individuals to its penalties of fine and imprisonment. On coming into office, I released those individuals by the power of pardon committed to executive discretion, which could never be more completely exercised than where citizens were suffering without the authority of law, or which was equivalent, under a law unauthorized by the Constitution and therefore null. In the case of Marbury and Madison, the federal judges declared that commissions signed and sealed by the President were valid, although not delivered. I deemed

delivery essential to complete a deed, which, as long as it remains in the hands of the party, is as yet no deed, it is in *posse* only, but not in *esse*, and I withheld a delivery of commissions. They cannot issue a mandamus to the President or Legislature or any of their officers. When the British treaty of —— arrived, without any provision against the impressment of our seamen, I determined not to ratify it. The Senate thought that I should ask their advice. I thought that would be a mockery of them, when I was predetermined against following it, should they advise its ratification. The Constitution had made their advice necessary to confirm a treaty but not to reject it. This has been blamed by some; but I have never doubted its soundness. In the cases of two persons *antenati*, under exactly similar circumstances, the federal court had determined that one of them (Duane) was not a citizen; the House of Representatives nevertheless determined that the other (Smith of South Carolina) was a citizen and admitted him to a seat in their body. Duane was a republican and Smith a federalist, and their decisions were made during the federal ascendency.

These are examples of my position that each of the three departments has equally the right to decide for itself what is its duty under the Constitution. (To Judge Roane, 1819. C. VII., 133.)

JUDICIARY, FEDERAL.—You seem to consider the judges as the ultimate arbiters of all constitutional questions; a very dangerous doctrine indeed, and one that would place us under the despotism of an oligarchy. Our judges are as honest as other men are and no more so. They have with others the same passions for party, for power, and the privilege of their corps. Their maxim is *boni judicis est ampliare jurisdictionem*, and their power is more dangerous as they are in office for life, and not responsible, as the other functionaries are, to the elective control. The Constitution has erected no such single tribunal, knowing that to whatever hands confided, with the corruptions of time and party its members would become despots. It has more wisely made all the departments co-equal and co-sovereign with themselves. If the Legislature fails to pass laws for a

census, for paying the judges and other officers of government, for establishing a militia, for naturalization as prescribed by the Constitution, or if they fail to meet in Congress, the judges cannot issue their mandamus to them; if the President fails to supply the place of a judge, to appoint other civil or military officers, to issue requisite commissions, the judges cannot force him. They can issue their mandamus or distringas to no executive or legislative officer to enforce the fulfilment of their official duties any more than the President or Legislature may issue orders to the judges or their officer. Betrayed by English example, and unaware, as it would seem, of the control of our Constitution in this particular, they have at times overstepped their limit by undertaking to command executive officers in the discharge of their executive duties; but the Constitution, in keeping three departments distinct and independent, restrains the authority of the judges to judiciary organs, as it does the executive and legislative to executive and legislative organs. The judges certainly have more frequent occasion to act on constitutional questions, because the laws of *meum* and *tuum* and of criminal action, forming the great mass of the system of law, constitute their particular department. When the legislative or executive functionaries act unconstitutionally they are responsible to the people in their elective capacity. The exception of the judges from that is quite dangerous enough. I know of no safe depository of the ultimate powers of society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion by education. This is the true corrective for abuses of constitutional power. (To Mr. Jarvis, 1820. C. VII., 178.)

JUDICIARY, FEDERAL.—But there was another amendment (to the Constitution) of which none of us thought at the time, and in the omission of which lurks the germ that is to destroy this happy combination of national powers in the general government for matters of national concern and independent powers in the States for what concerns the States severally. In England it was a great point gained at the Revo-

lution that the commissions of the judges which had hitherto been during pleasure should henceforth be made during good behavior. A judiciary dependent on the will of the King had proved itself the most oppressive of all tools in the hand of that magistrate. Nothing then could be more salutary than a change there to the tenure of good behavior; and the question of good behavior left to the vote of a simple majority in the two Houses of Parliament. Before the Revolution we were all good English whigs, cordial in their free principles and in their jealousies of their executive magistrate. These jealousies are very apparent in all our State Constitutions, and, in the general government in this instance, we have gone even beyond the English caution by requiring a vote of two-thirds in one of the Houses for removing a judge; a vote so impossible that where any defence is made before men of ordinary prejudices and passions that our judges are effectually independent of the nation. But this ought not to be. I would not indeed make them dependent on the executive authority as they formerly were in England, but I deem it indispensable to the continuance of this government that they should be submitted to some practical and impartial control; and this, to be imparted, must be compounded of a mixture of State and federal authorities. It is not enough that honest men are appointed judges. All know the influence of interest on the mind of man and how unconsciously his judgment is warped by that influence. To this bias add that of the *esprit de corps* of their peculiar maxim and creed, that "it is the office of a good judge to enlarge his jurisdiction" and the absence of responsibility; and how can we expect impartial decision between the general government of which they are themselves so eminent a part and an individual State from which they have nothing to hope or fear? We have seen, too, that contrary to all correct example, they are in the habit of going out of the question before them to throw an anchor ahead and grapple further hold for future advances of power. They are then in fact the corps of sappers and miners steadily wishing to undermine the independent rights of the

States, and to consolidate all power in the hands of that government which they have so important a free hold estate. But it is not by the consolidation or concentration of powers, but by their distribution that good government is effected. Were not this great country already divided into States, that division must be made, that each might do for itself what concerns itself directly, and what it can so much better do than a distant authority. Every State again is divided into counties, each to take care of what it has within its local bounds; each county again into townships or wards to manage minute details; and every ward into farms, to be governed each by its individual proprietor. Were we directed from Washington when to sow and when to reap, we should soon want bread. It is by this partition of cares descending in graduation from general to particular that the mass of human affairs may be best managed for the good and prosperity of all. I repeat that I do not charge the judges with wilful and ill-intentioned error; but honest error must be arrested where its toleration leads to public ruin. As for the safety of society, we commit honest maniacs to Bedlam, so judges should be withdrawn from the bench whose erroneous biases are leading us to dissolution. It may, indeed, injure them in fame or in fortune, but it saves the Republic, which is the first and supreme law. (From Autobiography, 1821. C. I., 81.)

JUDICIARY, FEDERAL.—The nation will judge both the offender and judges for themselves. If a member of the executive or Legislature does wrong, the day is never far distant when the people will remove him. They will see then and amend the error in our Constitution, which makes any branch independent of the nation. They will see that one of the great co-ordinate branches of the Government, setting itself in opposition to the other two, and to the common sense of the nation, proclaims impunity to that class of offenders which endeavor to overturn the Constitution, and are themselves protected by the Constitution itself; for impeachment is a farce that will not be tried again. (To William B. Giles, 1807. C. V., 68.)

JUDICIARY, FEDERAL.—The great object of my fear is the fed-

eral judiciary. That body, like gravity, with noiseless foot and unalarming advance, gaining ground step by step, and holding what it gains, is ingulphing insidiously the special governments into the jaws of that which feeds them. (To Judge Roane, 1821. C. VII., 212.)

JUDICIARY, FEDERAL.—We already see the power installed for life responsible to no authority advancing with a noiseless and steady pace to the great object of consolidation. The foundations are already deeply laid by the decisions for the annihilation of constitutional State rights and the removal of every check, every counterpart to the ingulfing power of which the members are to make a sovereign port. If ever this vast country is brought under a single government it will be one of the most extensive corruptions, indifferent and incapable of a wholesome care over so wide a spread of surface. This will not be borne and you will have to choose between reformation and revolution. If I know the spirit of the country, the one or the other is inevitable. Before the canker is become inevitable, before its venom has reached so much of the body politic as to get beyond control, remedy should be applied. Let the future appointment of judges be for four or six years, and renewable by the President and Senate. This will bring their conduct, at regular periods, under revision and probation and may keep them in equipoise between the general and special governments. We have erred in this point by copying England, where certainly it is a good thing to have the judges independent of the King. But we have omitted to copy this caution also which makes a judge removable on the advice of both legislative houses. That there should be public friction independent of the nation whatever may be their demerit, is a sole cause in a republic of the first order of absurdity and inconsistency. (To W. T. Barry, 1822. C. VII., 256.)

JUDICIARY, FEDERAL.—One single object, if your provision attains it, will entitle you to the endless gratitude of society, that of restraining judges from usurping legislation. And with no body of men is this restraint more wanting than with the judges of what is commonly called our general government,

but what I call our foreign department. They are practicing on the Constitution by inferences, analogies and sophisms as they would on an ordinary law. They do not seem aware that it is not even a Constitution, formed by a single authority and subject to a single superintendence and control; but that it is a compact of many independent powers, every single one of which causes an equal right to understand it and to require its observance. However strong the cord of compact may be there is a point of tension at which it will break. A few such doctrinal decisions as bare-faced as that of the Cohens happening to bear immediately on two or three large States may induce them to join in arresting the march of government and in arousing the co-States to pay some attention to what is passing, to bring back the compact to its original principles, or to modify it legitimately by the express consent of the parties themselves, and not by the usurpation of their created agents. They imagine they can lead us into a consolidated government while their road leads directly to dissolution. This member of the government was at first considered the most harmless and helpless of all its organs. But it has proved that the power of declaring what the law is, *ad libitum*, sapping and mining, slily and without alarm the foundations of the Constitution, can do what open force would not dare to attempt. (To Edward Livingston, 1825. C. VII., 403.)

JUDICIARY, FEDERAL.—See Supreme Court.

JURIES.—All facts in causes whether of Chancery, Common, Ecclesiastical, or Marine law shall be tried by a jury upon evidence given *viva voce*, in open court. * * * All fines or amercements shall be assessed and terms of imprisonment for contempts and misdemeanors shall be fixed by a jury. (From a proposed Constitution for Virginia, 1776. F. II., 24.)

JURIES.—We think in America that it is necessary to introduce the people into every department of government as far as they are capable of exercising it; and that the institution of the jury is the only way to ensure a long continued and honest administration of its powers. * * * They are not qualified to judge questions of law; but they are very capable of judging

questions of fact. In the form of juries, therefore, they determine all matters of fact, leaving to the permanent judges to decide the law resulting from these facts. But we all know that permanent judges acquire *Esprit de Corps,* that being known, they are liable to be tempted by bribery, that they are misled by favor, by relationship, by a spirit of party, by a devotion to the Executive or Legislature. That it is better to leave a cause to the decision of cross and pile, than to that judge biased to one side; and that the opinion of twelve honest jurymen gives still a better hope of right than cross and pile does. It is left, therefore, to the juries, if they think the permanent judges are under any bias whatever in any cause, to take on themselves to judge the laws as well as the fact. They never exercise this power but when they suspect partiality in the judges, and by the exercise of this power they have been the firmest bulwark of English liberty. Were I called upon to decide whether the people had best be omitted in the legislative or judiciary department, I would say it is better to have them out of the Legislature. The execution of the laws is more important than the making of them. However, it is best to have the people in all the three departments where that is possible. (Written to L'Abbe Arnoud, Paris, 1789. F. V., 104.)

JUSTICE.—The administration of justice is a branch of the sovereignty over a country, and belongs exclusively to the nation inhabiting it. No foreign power can pretend to participate in their jurisdiction or that their citizens received there are not subject to it. When a cause has been adjudged according to the rules and forms of the country, its justice ought to be presumed. Even error in the highest court is one of these inconveniences flowing from the imperfections of our faculties, to which every society must submit; because there must be somewhere a last resort wherein contestations may end. Multiply bodies of revisal as you please, their number will be finite and they must finish in the hands of fallible men as judges. (To the British Minister, 1792. F. VI., 56.)

KENTUCKY RESOLUTIONS.—Jefferson's Draft, 1798.—Resolved, That the several States composing the United States of

America, are not united on the principle of unlimited submission to their general government; but that, by a compact under the style and title of a Constitution for the United States, and of amendments thereto, they constituted a general government for special purposes—delegated to that government certain definite powers, reserving, each State to itself, the residuary mass of right to their own self-government; and that whensoever the general government assumes undelegated powers, its acts are unauthoritative, void, and of no force; that to this compact each State acceded as a State, and is an integral party, its co-States forming, as to itself, the other party; that the government created by this compact was not made the exclusive or final judge of the extent of the powers delegated to itself; since that would have made its discretion, and not the Constitution, the measure of its powers; but that, as in all other cases of compact among powers having no common judge, each party has an equal right to judge for itself, as well of infractions as of the mode and measure of redress.

2. Resolved, That the Constitution of the United States, having delegated to Congress a power to punish treason, counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States, piracies, and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations, and no other crimes whatsoever; and it being true as a general principle, and one of the amendments to the Constitution having so declared, that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, not prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people," therefore the act of Congress, passed on the 14th day of July, 1798, and intituled "An Act in addition to the act intituled An Act for the punishment of certain crimes against the United States," as also the act passed by them on the —— day of June, 1798, intituled "An Act to punish frauds committed on the bank of the United States" (and all their other acts which assume to create, define, or punish crimes, other than those so enumerated in the Constitution), are altogether void, and of no force; and that the power to create, define and punish such other crimes is reserved, and, of right, appertains

solely and exclusively to the respective States, each within its own territory.

3. Resolved, That it is true as a general principle, and is also expressly declared by one of the amendments to the Constitution, that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people;" and that no power over the freedom of religion, freedom of speech, or freedom of the press being delegated to the United States, all lawful powers respecting the same did of right remain, and were reserved to the States or the people: that thus was manifested their determination to retain to themselves the right of judging how far the licentiousness of speech and of the press may be abridged without lessening their useful freedom, and how far those abuses which cannot be separated from their use should be tolerated, rather than the use be destroyed. And thus also they guarded against all abridgment by the United States of the freedom of religious opinions and exercises, and retained to themselves the right of protecting the same, as this State, by a law passed on the general demand of its citizens, had already protected them from all human restraint or interference. And that in addition to this general principle and express declaration, another and more special provision has been made by one of the amendments to the Constitution, which expressly declares, that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press;" thereby guarding in the same sentence, and under the same words, the freedom of religion, of speech, and of the press: insomuch, that whatever violates either, throws down the sanctuary which covers the others, and that libels, falsehood, and defamation, equally with heresy and false religion, are withheld from the cognizance of Federal tribunals. That, therefore, the act of Congress of the United States, passed on the 14th day of July, 1798, intituled "An Act in addition to the act intituled An Act for the punishment of certain crimes against the United

States," which does abridge the freedom of the press, is not law, but is altogether void, and of no force.

4. Resolved, That alien friends are under the jurisdiction and protection of the laws of the State wherein they are; that no power over them has been delegated to the United States, nor prohibited to the individual States, distinct from their power over citizens. And it being true as a general principle, and one of the amendments to the Constitution having also declared, that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people," the act of Congress of the United States, passed on the —— day of July, 1798, intituled "An Act concerning aliens," which assumes powers over alien friends, not delegated by the Constitution, is not law, but is altogether void and of no force.

5. Resolved, That in addition to the general principle, as well as the express declaration, that powers not delegated are reserved, another and more special provision, inserted in the Constitution from abundant caution, has declared that "the migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year 1808;" that this Commonwealth does admit the migration of alien friends, described as the subject of the said act concerning aliens; that a provision against prohibiting their migration, is a provision against all acts equivalent thereto, or it would be nugatory; that to remove them when immigrated, is equivalent to a prohibition of their migration, and is, therefore, contrary to the said provision of the Constitution, and void.

6. Resolved, That the imprisonment of a person under the protection of the laws of this Commonwealth, on his failure to obey the simple order of the President to depart out of the United States as is undertaken by said act intituled "An Act concerning aliens," is contrary to the Constitution, one amendment to which has provided that "no person shall be deprived of liberty without due process of law;" and that another having provided that "in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall

enjoy the right to public trial by an impartial jury, to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witness against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence;" the same act, undertaking to authorize the President to remove a person out of the United States, who is under the protection of the law, on his own suspicion, without accusation, without jury, without public trial, without confrontation of the witnesses against him, without hearing witnesses in his favor, without defense, without counsel, is contrary to the provision also of the Constitution, is therefore not law but utterly void, and of no force; that transferring the power of judging any person, who is under the protection of the laws, from the courts to the President of the United States, as is undertaken by the same act concerning aliens, is against the article of the Constitution which provides that "the judicial power of the United States shall be vested in courts, the judges of which shall hold their offices during good behavior;" and that the said act is void for that reason also. And it is further to be noted, that this transfer of judiciary power is to that magistrate of the general government who already possesses all the Executive, and a negative on all Legislative powers.

7. Resolved, That the construction applied by the general government (as is evidenced by sundry of their proceedings) to those parts of the Constitution of the United States which delegate to Congress a power "to lay and collect taxes, duties, imports, and excises, to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States," and "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the powers vested by the Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof," goes to the destruction of all limits prescribed to their power by the Constitution; that words meant by the instrument to be subsidiary only to the execution of limited powers, ought not to be construed as themselves to give unlimited powers, nor a part to be so taken as to destroy the whole

residue of that instrument; that the proceedings of the general government under color of these articles, will be a fit and necessary subject of revisal and correction, at a time of greater tranquillity, while those specified in the preceding resolutions call for immediate redress.

8. Resolved, That a committee of conference and correspondence be appointed, who shall have in charge to communicate the preceding resolutions to the legislatures of the several States; to assure them that this Commonwealth continues in the same esteem of their friendship and union which it has manifested from that moment at which a common danger first suggested a common union: that it considers union, for specified national purposes, and particularly to those specified in their late federal compact, to be friendly to the peace, happiness and prosperity of all the States: that faithful to their compact, according to the plain intent and meaning in which it was understood and acceded to by the several parties, it is sincerely anxious for its preservation: that it does also believe, that to take from the States all the powers of self-government and transfer them to a general and consolidated government, without regard to the special delegations and reservations solemnly agreed to in that compact, is not for the peace, happiness or prosperity of these States; and that therefore this Commonwealth is determined, as it doubts not its co-States are, to submit to undelegated, and consequently unlimited powers in no man, or body of men on earth: that in cases of an abuse of the delegated powers, the members of the general government, being chosen by the people, a change by the people would be the constitutional remedy; but, where powers are assumed which have not been delegated, a nullification of the act is the rightful remedy: that every State has a natural right in cases not within the compact *(casus non foederis)*, to nullify of their own authority all assumptions of power by others within their limits: that without this right, they would be under the dominion, absolute and unlimited, of whosoever might exercise this right of judgment for them: that nevertheless, this Commonwealth, from motives of regard and respect

for its co-States, has wished to communicate with them on the subject: that with them alone it is proper to communicate, they alone being parties to the compact, and solely authorized to judge in the last resort of the powers exercised under it, Congress being not a party, but merely the creature of the compact, and subject as to its assumptions of power to the final judgment of those by whom, and for whom, its use and its powers were all created and modified: that if the acts before specified should stand, these conclusions would flow from them; that the general government may place any act they think proper on the list of crimes, and punish it themselves whether enumerated or not enumerated by the Constitution as cognizable by them: that they may transfer its cognizance to the President or any other person, who may himself be the accuser, counsel, judge and jury, whose suspicions may be the evidence, his order the sentence, his officer the executioner, and his breast the sole record of the transaction: that a very numerous and valuable description of the inhabitants of these States being, by this precedent, reduced, as outlaws, to the absolute dominion of one man, and the barrier of the Constitution thus swept away from us all, no rampart now remains against the passions and the powers of a majority in Congress to protect from a like exportation, or other more grievous punishment, the minority of the same body, the legislatures, judges, governors and counsellors of the States, nor their other peaceable inhabitants, who may venture to reclaim the constitutional rights and liberties of the States and people, or who for other causes, good or bad, may be obnoxious to the views, or marked by the suspicions of the President, or be thought dangerous to his or their election, or other interests, public or personal: that the friendless alien has indeed been selected as the safest subject of a first experiment; but the citizen will soon follow, or, rather, has already followed, for already has a sedition act marked him as its prey; that these and successive acts of the same character, unless arrested at the threshold, necessarily drive these States into revolution and blood, and will furnish new calumnies against Republican government, and new pretexts for those who wish

it to be believed that man cannot be governed by but a rod of iron. That this Commonwealth does therefore call on its co-States for an expression of their sentiments on the acts concerning aliens, and for the punishment of certain crimes herein before specified, plainly declaring whether these acts are or are not authorized by the Federal compact. And it doubts not that their sense will be so announced as to prove their attachment unaltered to limited government, whether general or particular. And that the rights and liberties of their co-States will be exposed to no dangers by remaining embarked in a common bottom with their own. That they will concur with this Commonwealth in considering the said acts as so palpably against the Constitution as to amount to an undisguised declaration that that compact is not meant to be the measure of the powers of the general government, but that it will proceed in the exercise over these States, of all powers whatsoever: that they will view this as seizing the rights of the States, and consolidating them in the hands of the general government, with a power assumed to bind the States (not merely as the cases made federal, *casus foederis)*, but in all cases whatsoever, by laws made, not with their consent, but by others against their consent: that this would be to surrender the form of government we have chosen, and live under one deriving its powers from its own will, and not from our authority; and that the co-States, recurring to their natural right in cases not made federal, will concur in declaring these acts void, and of no force, and will each take measures of its own for providing that neither these acts, nor any other of the general government not plainly and intentionally authorized by the Constitution, shall be exercised within their respective territories.

9. Resolved, That the said committee be authorized to communicate by writing or personal conferences, at any times or places whatever, with any person or persons who may be appointed by any one or more co-States to correspond or confer with them; and that they lay their proceedings before the next session of Assembly.

KINGS.—These are our grievances which we have thus laid

before His Majesty, with that freedom of language and sentiment which becomes a free people claiming their rights as derived from the laws of nature, and not as the gift of their chief magistrate. Let those flatter who fear, it is not an American act. They know, and will therefore say, that kings are the servants, not the proprietors, of the people. (From "A Summary View," 1774. F. I., 446.)

KINGS.—So much for the blessings of having kings and magistrates who would be kings. From these events our growing Republic may learn useful lessons, never to call on foreign powers to settle their differences, to guard against hereditary magistrates, to prevent their citizens from becoming so established in wrath and power as to be thought worthy of alliance by marriage with the nieces, sisters, etc., of kings, and, in short, to besiege the throne of heaven with eternal prayers, to extirpate from creation this class of human lions, tigers and mammoth called kings; from whom let him perish who does not say, "Good Lord, deliver us." (To Colonel Humphreys, 1787. C. II., 253.)

KINGS.—The practice of kings marrying only in the families of kings has been that of Europe for some centuries. Now, take any race of animals, confine them in idleness and inaction, whether in a stile, a stable or a state-room, pamper them with high diet, gratify all their sexual appetites, immerse them in sensualities, nourish their passions, let everything bend before them, and banish whatever might lead them to think, and in a few generations they become all body and no mind; and this, too, by a law of nature, by that very law by which we are in constant practice of changing the characters and propensities of the animals we raise for our own purposes. Such is the regimen in raising kings, and in this way they have gone on for centuries. While in Europe, I often amused myself with contemplating the characters of the then reigning sovereigns of Europe. Louis XVI. was a fool, of my own knowledge, and in despite of the answers made for him at his trial. The King of Spain was a fool, and of Naples the same. They passed their lives in hunting, and despatched two couriers a week, one thou-

sand miles, to let each other know what game they had killed the preceding days. The King of Sardinia was a fool. All these were Bourbons. The Queen of Portugal, a Braganza, was an idiot by nature, and so was the King of Denmark. Their sons, as regents, exercised the powers of governments. The King of Prussia, successor to the great Frederick, was a mere hog in body as well as in mind. Gustavus of Sweden and Joseph of Austria were really crazy, and George of England, as you know, was in a straight waistcoat. There remained then none but old Catharine who had been too lately picked up to have lost her common sense. In this state Bonaparte found Europe; and it was this state of its rulers which lost it with scarce a struggle. These animals had become without mind and powerless; and so will every hereditary monarch be after a few generations. Alexander, the grandson of Catharine, is as yet an exception. He is able to hold his own, but he is only of the third generation. His race is not yet worn out. And so endeth the book of kings, from all of whom the Lord deliver us, and have you, my friend, and all such good men and true in his holy keeping. (To Governor Langdon, 1810. C. V., 514.)

KOSCIUSKO.—I see Kosciusko often and with great pleasure mixed with commiseration. He is as pure a son of liberty as I have ever known, and of that liberty which is to go to all, and not to the few or the rich alone. (To Horatius Gates, 1798. F. VII., 204.)

LAFAYETTE.—Your principles are decidedly with the *tiers état,* and your instructions against them. A compliance to the latter on some occasions and an adherence to the former on others, may give an appearance of trimming between the two parties which may lose you both. You will in the end go over wholly to the *tiers état,* because it will be impossible for you to live in a constant sacrifice of your own sentiments to the prejudices of the noblesse. But you would be received by the *tiers état* at any future day coldly and without confidence. It appears to me the moment to take that honest and manly stand with them which your own principles dictate. This will win

their hearts forever, be approved by the world which marks and honors you as the man of the people, and will be an eternal consolation to yourself. (To LaFayette, 1789. F. V., 92.)

LAND.—From the nature and purpose of civil institutions, all the lands within the limits which any particular society has circumscribed around itself are assumed by that society, and subject to their allotment only. This may be done by themselves assembled collectively, or by their Legislature, to whom they have delegated sovereign authority; and if they are allotted in either of these ways, each individual of the society may appropriate to himself such lands as he finds vacant, and occupancy will give him title. (From "A Summary View," 1774. F. I., 445.)

LAND.—They will settle the lands in spite of everybody. I am at the same time clear that they should be appropriated in small quantities. It is said that worthy foreigners will come in great numbers and they ought to pay for the liberty we shall have provided for them. True, but make them pay in settlers. A foreigner who brings a settler for every 100 or 200 acres of land to be granted him pays a better price than if he had put into the public treasury five shillings or five pounds. (To Edmund Pendleton, 1776. F. II., 81.)

LAND.—The earth is given a common stock for man to labor and live on. If for the encouragement of industry we allow it to be appropriated, we must take care that other employment be provided to those excluded from the appropriation. If we do not, the fundamental right to labor the earth returns to the unemployed. It is too soon yet in our country to say that every man who cannot find employment but who can find uncultivated land shall be at liberty to cultivate it, paying a wholesale rent. But it is not too soon to provide by every possible means that as few as possible shall be without a little portion of land. The small land holders are the most precious part of a State. (To Rev. James Madison, 1795. F. VII., 36.)

LANGUAGES.—In my letter of the 18th, I omitted to say anything of the languages as part of our proposed university. It was not that I think, as some do, that they are useless. I am

of a very different opinion. I do not think them essential to the obtaining eminent degrees of science; but I think them very useful towards it. I suppose there is a portion of life during which our faculties are ripe enough for this and for nothing more useful. * * * To read the Latin and Greek authors in their original is a sublime luxury; and I deem luxury in science to be at least as justifiable as in architecture, painting, gardening, or the other arts. I enjoy Homer in his own language infinitely beyond Pope's translation of him and both beyond the dull narrative of the same events by Darus Phrygius; and it is an innocent enjoyment. I thank on my knees him who directed my early education for having put into my possession this rich source of delight; and I would not exchange it for anything which I could thus have acquired and have not since acquired. (To Joseph Priestly, 1800. F. VII., 414.)

Law.—I have proposed to you to carry on the study of law with that of politics and history. Every political measure will forever have an intimate connection with the laws of the land; and he who knows nothing of these will often be perplexed and often foiled by adversaries having the advantage of that knowledge over him. I would therefore propose not only the study but the practice of the law for some time, to possess yourself of the habit of public speaking. (To Thomas Mann Randolph, written from Paris, 1787. F. IV., 405.)

Laws.—The experience of all ages and countries hath shown that cruel and sanguinary laws defeat their own purpose, by engaging the benevolence of mankind to withhold prosecutions, to smother testimony, or to listen to it with bias; and by producing in many instances a total dispensation and impunity under the names of pardon and privilege of clergy; when, if the punishment were only proportioned to the injury, men would feel it their inclination, as well as their duty, to see the laws observed; and the power of dispensation, so dangerous and mischievous ofttimes by holding up a hope of impunity, might totally be abolished, so that men while contemplating to perpetrate a crime would see their punishment ensuing as

necessarily as effects follow their causes. (From a bill relating to crimes and punishment, 1779. F. II., 205.)

LAWS.—The instability of our laws is really an immense evil. I think it would be well to provide in our constitutions that there shall always be a twelve-month between the engrossing a bill and passing it, and if circumstances should be thought to require a speedier passage, it should take two-thirds of both houses instead of a bare majority. (To James Madison, 1787. F. IV., 480.)

LAWS.—I agree in an almost limited condemnation of retrospective laws. The few instances of wrong which they redress are so overweighted by the insecurity they draw over all property and even over life itself and by the atrocious violation of both to which they lead, that it is better to live under the evil than the remedy. (From an opinion on Soldiers' Accounts, 1790. F. V., 176.)

LAWS.—But can laws be made unchangeable? Can one generation bind another, and all others, in succession forever? I think not. The Creator has made the earth for the living, not for the dead. Rights and powers can only belong to persons, not to things, not to mere matter, unendowed with will. The dead are not even things. The particles of matter which composed their bodies, make part now of the bodies of other animals, vegetables, or minerals, of a thousand forms. To what then are attached the rights and powers they hold while in the form of men? A generation may bind itself as long as its majority continues in life; when that has disappeared another majority is in place, holds all the rights and powers their predecessors once held, and may change their laws and institutions to suit themselves. Nothing then is unchangeable but the inherent and unalienable rights of men. (To John Cartwright, 1824. C. VII., 359.)

LAWYERS OF NEW ENGLAND.—But was there ever a profound common lawyer known in any of the Eastern States? There never was, nor never can be one from those States. The basis of their law is neither common nor civil; it is an original, if any compound can so be called. Its foundation seems to have

been laid in the spirit and principles of Jewish law, incorporated with some words and phrases of common law, and an abundance of notions of their own. This makes an amalgam *sui generis*, and it is well known that a man, first and thoroughly initiated into the principles of one system of law, can never become pure and sound in any other. Lord Mansfield was a splendid proof of this. Therefore, I say, there never was, nor can be a profound common lawyer from those States. (To the Attorney General of the United States, 1810. C. V., 550.)

LEGISLATURES.—The executive in our governments is not the sole, it is scarcely the principal object of my jealousy. The tyranny of the Legislature is the most formidable dread at present, and will be for long years. That of the executive will come in its turn, but it will be at a remote period. (To James Madison, written from Paris, 1789. F. V., 83.)

THE LEGISLATURE.—The Legislature should never show itself in a matter with a foreign nation, but where the case is very serious and they mean to commit the nation in its issue. (To James Madison, 1791. F. V., 392.)

LEGISLATURES.—Our legislatures are composed of two houses, the Senate and Representatives, elected in different modes, and for different periods, and in some States, with a qualified veto in the executive chief. But to avoid all temptation to superior pretensions of the one over the other house, and the possibility of either erecting itself into a privileged order, might it not be better to choose at the same time and in the same mode, a body sufficiently numerous to be divided by lot into two separate houses, acting as independently as the two houses in England, or in our governments, and to shuffle their names together and redistribute them by lot, once a week, or a fortnight? This would equally give the benefit of time and separate deliberation, guard against an absolute passage by acclamation, derange cabals, intrigues, and the count of noses, disarm the ascendency which a popular demagogue might at any time obtain over either house, and render impressible all disputes between the two houses, which often form such obstacles to business. (To M. Coray, 1823. C. VII., 321.)

LIBELS.—I had no conception there were persons enough to support a paper whose stomachs could bear such aliment as the enclosed papers contain. They are far beyond even the Washington Federalists. To punish, however, is impracticable until the body of the people from whom injuries are to be taken get their minds to rights; and even then I doubt its expediency. While a full range is proper for actions by individuals, either private or public, for slanders affecting them, I would wish much to see the experiment tried of getting along without public prosecutions for libels. I believe we can do it. Patience and well doing, instead of punishment, if it can be found sufficiently efficacious, would be a happy change in the instruments of government. (To Levi Lincoln, 1802. F. VIII., 139.)

LIBERTY.—The God who gave us life gave us liberty at the same time; the hand of force may destroy, but cannot disjoin them. (From "A Summary View," 1774. F. I., 447.)

LIBERTY.—To oppose his (George III.) arms we also have taken up arms. We should be wanting to ourselves, we should be perfidious to posterity, we should be unworthy that free ancestry from which we derive our descent, should we submit with folded arms to military butchery and depredation, to gratify the lordly ambition or to sate the avarice of a British ministry. We do then most solemnly before God and the world declare that, regardless of every consequence, at the risk of every distress, the arms we have been compelled to assume we will use with the perseverance, exerting to their utmost energies all these powers which our Creator hath given us, to preserve that liberty which He committed to us in sacred deposit and to protect from every hostile land our lives and our properties. (From a declaration submitted to Congress declaratory of the reasons why Americans had taken up arms, 1775. F. I., 474.)

LIBERTY.—A government wherein the will of every one has a just influence, * * * enjoys a precious degree of liberty and happiness. It has its evils too; the principal of which is the turbulence to which it is subject. *Malo periculosam libertatem quam quietam servitutem.* * * * I hold it that a

little rebellion now and then is a good thing, and as necessary in the political world as storms in the physical. Unsuccessful rebellions indeed generally establish the encroachments on the rights of the people which have produced them. An observation of this truth should render honest Republican governors so mild in their punishment of rebellion, as not to discourage them too much. It is a medicine necessary for the sound health of government. (To James Madison, 1787. F. IV., 362.)

Liberty.—The ground of liberty is to be gained by inches; we must be contented to secure what we can get from time to time, and eternally press forward for what is yet to get. It takes time to persuade men to do even what is for their own good. (To Rev. Charles Clay, 1790. F. V., 142.)

Liberty.—This ball of liberty is now so well in motion that it will roll round the globe. At least the enlightened part of it, for light and liberty go together. It is our glory that we first put it into motion, and our happiness that, being foremost, we had no bad examples to follow. (To Tench Coxe, 1795. F. VII., 22.)

Library.—Be it enacted by the General Assembly, that on the first day of January, in every year, there shall be paid out of the treasury the sum of two thousand pounds, to be laid out in such books and maps as may be proper to be preserved in a public library, and in defraying the expenses necessary for the care and preservation thereof; which library shall be established at the town of Richmond. (From a bill for establishing a Public Library, 1779. F. II., 236.)

Libraries.—I have often thought that nothing would do more extensive good at small expense than the establishment of a small circulating library in every county, to consist of a few well-chosen books to be lent to the people of the county, under such regulations as would secure their safe return in due time. These should be such as would give them a general view of other history, and a particular view of that of their own country, a tolerable knowledge of geography, the elements of natural philosophy, of agriculture and mechanics. (To Mr. John Wythe, 1809. C. V., 448.)

LOUISIANA.—The cession of Louisiana and the Floridas by Spain to France works most sorely on the United States. On this subject the Secretary of State has written to you fully. Yet I cannot forbear recurring to it personally, so deep is the impression it makes in my mind. It completely reverses all the political relations of the United States and will form a new epoch in our political course. Of all nations of any consideration France is the one which hitherto has offered the fewest points on which we could have any conflict of right, and the most points of a communion of interests. From these causes we have ever looked to her as our natural friend, as one with which we never have occasion of difference. Her growth therefore we viewed as our own, her misfortunes ours. There is on the globe one single spot, the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans, through which the produce of three-eighths of our territory must pass to market, and from its fertility it will ere long yield more than half of our whole produce and contain more than half our inhabitants. France placing herself in that door assumes to us the attitude of defiance. Spain might have retained it quietly for years. Her pacific dispositions, her feeble state, would induce her to increase our facilities there, so that her possession of the place would be hardly felt by us, and it would not perhaps be very long before some circumstance might arise which might make the cession of it to us the price of something of more worth to her. Not so can it ever be in the hands of France. The impetuosity of her temper, the energy and restlessness of her character, placed in a point of eternal friction with us, and our character, which, though quiet, and loving peace and the pursuit of wealth, is high-minded, despising wealth in competition with insult or injury, enterprising and energetic as any nation on earth, these circumstances render it impossible that France and the United States can continue long friends when they meet in so irritable a position. They as well as we must be blind if they do not see this; and we must be very improvident if we do not begin to make arrangements on that hypothesis. The day that France takes possession of New Orleans fixes the

sentence which is to restrain her forever within her low-water mark. It seals the union of two nations who in conjunction can maintain exclusive possession of the ocean. From that moment we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation. We must turn all our attentions to a maritime force, for which our resources place us on very high grounds: and having formed and cemented together a power which may render reinforcement of her settlements here impossible to France, make the first cannon, which shall be fired in Europe the signal for tearing up any settlement she may have made, and for holding the two continents of America in sequestration for the common purposes of the united British and American nations. This is not a state of things we seek or desire. It is one which this measure, if adopted by France, forces on us, as necessarily as any other cause, by the laws of nature, brings on its necessary effect. It is not from a fear of France that we deprecate this measure proposed by her. For however greater her force is than ours compared in the abstract, it is nothing in comparison of ours when to be exerted on our soil. But it is from sincere love of peace, and a firm persuasion that bound to France by the interests and the strong sympathies still existing in the minds of our citizens, and holding relative positions which ensure their continuance, we are secure of a long course of peace. Whereas the change of friends, which will be rendered necessary if France changes that position, embarks us necessarily as a belligerent power in the first war with Europe. In that case France will hold possession of New Orleans during the interval of a peace, long or short, at the end of which it will be wrested from her. Will this short-lived possession have been an equivalent to her for the transfer of such a weight into the scale of her enemy? Will not the amalgamation of a young, thriving nation continue to that enemy the health and force which are at present so evidently on the decline? And will a few years' possession of New Orleans add equally to the strength of France? She may say she needs Louisiana for the supply of her West Indies. She does not need it in time of peace. And in war she could not depend on them because they would be so

easily intercepted. I should suppose that all these considerations might in some proper form be brought into view of the government of France. Tho' stated by us, it ought not to give offense; because we do not bring them forward as a menace, but as consequences not controllable by us, but inevitable from the course of things. We mention them not as things which we desire by any means, but as things we deprecate; and we beseech a friend to look forward and to prevent them for our common interests.

If France considers Louisiana, however, as indispensable for her views, she might perhaps be willing to look about for arrangements which might reconcile it to our interests. If anything could do this it would be the ceding to us the island of New Orleans and the Floridas. This would certainly in a great degree remove the causes of jarring and irritation between us, and perhaps for such a length of time as might produce other means of making the measure permanently conciliatory to our interests and friendships. It would at any rate relieve us from the necessity of taking immediate measures for countervailing such an operation by arrangements in another quarter. Still we should consider New Orleans and the Floridas as equivalent for the risk of a quarrel with France produced by her vicinage. I have no doubt you have urged these considerations on every proper occasion with the government where you are. They are such as must have effect if you can find the means of producing thorough reflection on them by that government. (To the United States Minister to France, 1802. F. VIII., 144-146.)

Louisiana.—On further consideration as to the amendment to our Constitution respecting Louisiana, I have thought it better instead of enumerating the powers which Congress may exercise, to give them the same powers as to other portions of the Union generally, and to enumerate the special exceptions in some such form as the following: "Louisiana, as ceded by France to the United States, is made a part of the United States, its white inhabitants shall be citizens and stand as to their rights and obligations on the same footing with other citizens of the United States in analogous situations. * * * Florida, also,

whensoever it may be rightfully obtained, shall become a part of the United States, its white inhabitants shall thereupon be citizens and shall stand as to their rights and obligations on the same footing of others citizens of the United States in analogous situations."

I quote this for your consideration, observing that the less is said about any constitutional difficulty the better, and that it will be desirable for Congress to do what is necessary, in silence. (To Levi Lincoln, 1803. C. IV., 504.)

LOUISIANA.—With the wisdom of Congress it will rest to take those ulterior measures which may be necessary for the immediate occupation and temporary government of the country (Louisiana); for its incorporation into our Union; for rendering the change of government a blessing to our newly adopted brethren; for securing to them the rights of conscience and of property; for confirming to the Indian inhabitants their occupancy and self-government, establishing friendly and commercial relations with them and for ascertaining the geography of the country acquired. (From Third Annual Message to Congress, 1803. C. VIII., 24.)

MADISON.—You probably do not know Mr. Madison personally, or at least intimately, as I do. I have known him from 1779, when he first came into the public councils, and from three and thirty years' trial I can say conscientiously that I do not know in the world a man of purer integrity, more dispassionate, disinterested and devoted to genuine republicanism; nor could I, in the whole scope of America and Europe, point out an abler head. (To T. C. Flourney, 1812. C. VI., 82.)

MANUFACTURER.—We must now place the manufacturer by the side of the agriculturist. The former question is suppressed or assumes a new form. Shall we make our own comforts, or go without them, at the will of a foreign nation? He, therefore, who is against domestic manufacture, must be for reducing us either to dependence on that foreign nation, or to be clothed in skins, and to live like wild beasts in dens and caverns. I am not one of these; experience has taught me that manufactures are now as necessary to our independence as to our comfort; and if those

who quote me as of a different opinion, will keep pace with me in purchasing nothing foreign where an equivalent of domestic fabric can be obtained, without regard to difference of price, it will not be our fault if we do not soon have a supply at home equal to our demand, and wrest that weapon of distress from the hand which has wielded it. (To Benj. Austin, 1816. C. VI., 522.)

MASSACHUSETTS.—Oh, Massachusetts! How have I lamented the degradation of your apostasy! Massachusetts, with whom I went with pride in 1776, whose vote was my vote on every public question, and whose principles were then the standard of whatever was free or fearless. But she was then under the counsel of the two Adams; while Strong, her present leader, was promoting petitions for submission to British power and British usurpation. While under her present counsels, she must be content with nothing; as having a vote, indeed, to be contented, but not respected. But should the State once more buckle on her Republican harness, we shall receive her again as a sister, and recollect her wanderings among the crimes of the parricide party, which would have basely sold what their fathers so bravely won from the same enemy. Let us look forward, then, to the act of repentance, which by dismissing her venal traitors, shall be the signal of return to the bosom and to the principles of her brethren; and if her late humiliation can just give her modesty enough to suppose that her Southern brethren are somewhat on a par with her in wisdom, in information, in patriotism, in bravery, and even in honesty, although not in psalm singing, she will more justly estimate her own relative momentum in the Union. With her ancient principles, she would really be great, if she did not think herself the whole. (To Gen. Dearborne, 1815. C. VI., 450.)

MERCHANTS, PRIESTS AND LAWYERS.—I join in your reprobation of our merchants, priests and lawyers, for their adherence to England and monarchy, in preference to their own country and its constitutions. But merchants have no country. The mere spot they stand on does not constitute so strong an attachment as that from which they draw their gains. In every country

and in every age, the priest has been hostile to liberty. He is always in alliance with the despot, abetting his abuses in return for protection to his own. It is easier to acquire them, and to effect this, they have perverted the best religion ever preached to man into mystery and jargon, unintelligible to all mankind, and therefore the safer engine for their purposes. With the lawyers it is a new thing. They have, in the mother country, been generally the primest supporters of the free principles of their constitution. But there, too, they have changed. I ascribe much of this to the substitution of Blackstone for my Lord Coke, as an elementary work. In truth, Blackstone and Hume have made tories of all England, and are making tories of those young Americans whose native feelings of independence do not place them above the wily sophistries of a Hume or a Blackstone. These two books, but especially the former, have done more towards the suppression of the liberties of man than all the millions of men in the armies of Bonaparte and the millions of human lives with the sacrifice of which he will stand loaded before the judgment seat of his Maker. I fear nothing for our liberty from the assaults of force; but I have seen and felt much, and fear more from English books, English prejudices, English manners, and the apes, the dupes, and designs among our professional crafts. (To H. G. Spafford, 1814. C. VI., 334.)

METEMPSYCHOSIS.—It is not for me to pronounce on the hypothesis you present of a transmigration of souls from one body to another in certain cases. The laws of nature have withheld from us the means of physical knowledge of the country of spirits, and revelation has, for reasons unknown to us, chosen to leave us in the dark as we were. When I was young I was fond of the speculations which seemed to promise some insight into that hidden country, but observing at length that they left me in the same ignorance which they found me, I have for many years ceased to read or think concerning them, and have reposed my head on that pillow of ignorance which a benevolent Creator has made so soft for us, knowing how much we should be forced to use it. I have thought it better by nourishing the

good passion and destroying the bad, to merit an inheritance in a state of being of which I can know so little, and to trust for the future to him who has been so good for the past. (To Rev. Isaac Story, 1801. F. VIII., 107.)

MILITIA.—Uncertain as we must ever be of the particular point in our circumference where an enemy may choose to invade us, the only force which can be ready at every point and competent to oppose them, is the body of neighboring citizens as formed into a militia. On these, collected from the parts most convenient, in numbers proportioned to the invading foe, it is best to rely, not only to meet the first attack, but if it threatens to be permanent, to maintain the defence until regulars may be engaged to relieve them. These considerations render it important that we should at every session continue to amend the defects which from time to time show themselves in the laws for regulating the militia, until they are sufficiently perfect. Nor should we now or at any time separate, until we can say we have done everything for the militia which we could do were an enemy at our door. (From the First Annual Message, 1801. F. VIII., 121.)

MINISTERS.—Every foreign agent depends on the double will of the two governments, of that which sends him, and of that which is to permit the exercise of his functions within their territory; and when either of these wills is refused or withdrawn, his authority to act within that territory becomes incomplete. (Address to the French Minister, Genet, 1793. F. VI., 465.)

MISSISSIPPI.—I never had any interest westward of the Alleghany and I never will have any. But I have had great opportunities of knowing the character of the people who inhabit that country, and I will venture to say that the act which abandons the navigation of the Mississippi is an act of separation between the Eastern and Western country. It is a relinquishment of five parts out of eight of the territory of the United States, an abandonment of the fairest subjects for the payment of our public debts, and the chaining those debts on our own necks *in perpetuum.* If they declare themselves a separate people,

we are incapable of a single effort to retain them. (To James Madison, written in Paris, 1787. F. IV., 364.)

Mississippi.—We have a right to the navigation of the Mississippi—first, by nature; second, by treaty. It is necessary to us. More than half the territory of the United States is on the waters of that river. Two hundred thousand of our citizens are settled on them, of whom forty thousand bear arms. These have no other outlet for their tobacco, rice, corn, hemp, house timber, ship timber. We have hitherto respected the decision of Spain, because we wish peace;—because our western citizens have had vent at home for their productions. A surplus of productions begins now to demand foreign markets. Whenever they shall say, "We cannot, we will not, be longer shut up," the United States will be reduced to the following dilemma: First, to force them to acquiescence; second, to separate from them, rather than to take part in a war against Spain; third, to preserve them in our Union by joining them in the war. * * * The third is the alternative we must adopt. (From instructions to the United States Charge D'Affaires in Spain, 1790. F. V., 225.)

Missouri Question.—The Missouri is not a moral question, but one merely of power. Its object is to raise a geographical principle for the choice of a President, and the noise will be kept up until that is effected. All know that permitting the slaves of the South to spread into the West will not add one being to that unfortunate condition, that it will increase the happiness of those existing, and by spreading them over a larger surface, will dilute the evil everywhere, and facilitate the means of getting finally rid of it, an event more anxiously wished by those on whom it presses than by the noisy pretenders to exclusive humanity. In the meantime, it is a ladder for rivals climbing to power. (To M. de La Fayette, 1820. C. VII., 194.)

Monarchy.—With respect to the State of Virginia, the people seem to have laid aside the monarchial, and taken up the Republican government, with as much ease as would have attended their throwing off an old and putting on a new suit of clothes.

Not a single throe has attended this important transformation. A half-dozen aristocratical gentlemen, agonizing under the loss of pre-eminence, have sometimes ventured their sarcasms on our political metamorphosis. They have been thought fitter objects of pity, than of punishment. (To Ben. Franklin, 1777. F. II., 132.)

MONARCHY.—I look up with you to the Federal convention for an amendment of our Federal affairs. Yet I do not view them in so disadvantageous a light at present as some do. And above all things I am astonished at some people's considering a kingly government as a refuge. * * * If all the evils which can arise among us from the Republican form of our government from this day to the day of judgment could be put into a scale against what this country suffers from its monarchial form in a week, or England in a month, the latter would preponderate. Consider the contents of the red book in England or the Almanac Royale of France, and say what a people gain by monarchy. No race of kings has ever presented above one man of common sense in twenty generations. (To Benjamin Hawkings, written from Paris, 1787. F. IV., 426.)

MONARCHY.—The perpetual re-eligibility of the President I fear will make an office for life and then hereditary. I was much an enemy to monarchy before I came to Europe. I am ten thousand times more so since I have seen what they are. There is scarcely an evil known in these countries which may not be traced to their King as its source, nor a good which is not derived from the small fibers of Republicanism existing among them. I can further say with safety there is not a crowned head in Europe whose talents or merit would entitle him to be elected a vestryman by the people of any parish in America. (To George Washington, written in Paris, 1788. F. V., 8.)

MONARCHY.—I know there are some among us who would now establish a monarchy. But they are inconsiderable in number and weight of character. The rising race are all Republicans. We were educated in royalism; no wonder if some of us retain that idolatry still. Our young people are educated in Republi-

canism; an apostasy from that to royalism is unprecedented and impossible. (To James Madison from Paris, 1789. F. V., 83.)

MONARCHY.—There are high names here in favor of subverting the present form of government and making way for a king, lords and commons, Adams, Jay, Hamilton, Knox. Many of the Cincinnati. The second says nothing. The third is open. Both are dangerous. They pant after union with England as the power which is to support their projects, and are most determined Anti-Gallicans. It is prognosticated that our Republic is to end with the President's life. But I believe they will find themselves all head and no body. (To William Short, 1791. F. V., 362.)

MONARCHY.—Would you believe it possible that in this country there should be high and important characters who need your lessons in Republicanism and who do not heed them? It is but too true that we have a sect preaching up and panting after an English constitution of kings, lords, and commons, and whose heads are itching for crowns, coronets and mitres. But our people, very good friend, are firm and unanimous in their principles of Republicanism, and there is no better proof of it than that they love what you write and read it with delight. (To Thomas Paine, 1792. F. VI., 87.)

MONARCHY.—While you are exterminating the monster aristocracy and pulling out the teeth and fangs of its associate monarchy, a contrary tendency is discovered in some here. A sect has shown itself among us, who declare they espoused our new Constitution not as a good and sufficient thing itself, but only as a step to an English constitution. * * * You will wonder to be told that it is from the Eastward that these champions for being lords and commons, come. They get some important associates from New York. * * * Too many of those stock-jobbers or king-jobbers have come into our Legislature, or rather too many of our Legislature have become stock-jobbers and king-jobbers. (To La Fayette, 1792. F. VI., 78.)

MONARCHY.—The aspect of our politics has wonderfully

changed since you left us. In place of that noble love of liberty and Republican government which carried us triumphantly through the war, an Anglican monarchial and aristocratical party has sprung up, whose avowed object is to draw over us the substance as they have already done the forms of the British Government. The main body of our citizens, however, remain true to their Republican privileges; the whole land's interest is Republican, and so is a great mass of talent. Against us are the Executive, the Judiciary, two out of three branches of the legislature, all the officers of the government, all who want to be officers, all timid men who prefer the calm of despotism to the boisterous sea of liberty, British merchants and Americans trading on British capitals, speculators and holders in the banks and public funds. It would give you a fever were I to name to you the apostates who have gone over to these heresies, men who were Samsons in the field and Solomons in the council, but who have had their heads shorn by the harlot England. In short, we are likely to preserve the liberty we have obtained only by unremitting labors and perils. But we shall preserve it; and our mass of weight and wealth on the good side is so great as to leave no danger that force will ever be attempted against us. We have only to awake and snap the Lilliputian cords with which they have been entangling us during the first sleep which succeeded our labors. (To Philip Mazzei, 1796. F. VII., 75.)

Monarchy.—A second class, at the head of which is our quondam colleague (Hamilton), are ardent for the introduction of monarchy, eager for armies, making more noise for a great naval establishment than better patriots who wish it on a national scale only, commensurate to our wants and our means. This class ought to be tolerated but not trusted. (To Henry Knox, 1801. F. VIII., 36.)

Monarchy.—When I arrived at New York in 1790, to take a part in the administration, being fresh from the French revolution, while in its first and pure stage, and consequently somewhat whetted up in my Republican principles, I found a state of things, in the general society of the place, which I could not

have supposed possible. Being a stranger there, I was feasted from table to table, at large set dinners, the parties generally from twenty to thirty. The revolution I had left, and we had just gone through in the recent change of our own government, being the common topics of conversation. I was astonished to find the general prevalence of monarchial sentiments, insomuch that in maintaining those of Republicanism, I had always the whole company on my hands, never scarcely finding among them a single co-advocate in that argument, unless some old member of Congress happened to be present. The furthest that any one would go, in support of the Republican features of our new government, would be to say, "The present Constitution is well as a beginning, and may be allowed a fair trial; but it is, in fact, only a stepping stone to something better." Among the writers, Denny, the editor of the Portfolio, who was a kind of oracle with them, and styled the Addison of America, openly avowed his preference of monarchy over all other forms of government, prided himself on the avowal, and maintained it by argument freely and without reserve, in his publications. I do not, myself, know that the Essex junto of Boston were monarchists, but I have always heard it so said and never doubted. * * * Monarchy, to be sure, is now defeated and they wish it should be forgotten that it was ever advocated. They see that it is desperate, and treat its imputation to them as a calumny; and I verily believe that none of them have it now in direct aim. Yet the spirit is not done away. The same party takes now what they deem to next best ground, the consolidation of the government; the giving to the Federal member of the government, by unlimited constructions of the Constitution, a control over all the functions of the States, and the concentration of all power ultimately at Washington. (To William Short, 1825. C. VII., 390.)

Money.—The proportion between the values of gold and silver is a mercantile problem altogether. The legal proportion in Spain is 16 for 1; in England 15½ for 1; in France 15 for 1. * * * Just principles will lead us to disregard legal proportions altogether; to enquire into the market price of gold in the

several countries with which we shall principally be connected in commerce, and to take an average from them. Perhaps we might with safety have to proportion somewhat above par for gold, considering our neighborhood and commerce with the sources of the coins, and the tendency which the high price of gold in Spain has, to draw thither all that of their mines, leaving silver principally for our other markets. It is not impossible that 15 for 1 may be found an eligible proportion. I state it, however, as a conjecture only. (From "Notes on the Establishment of a Monetary Unit and of a coinage for the United States," 1784. F. III., 452.)

MONEY.—Resolved, that the money unit of these States shall be equal in value to a Spanish milled dollar containing so much fine silver as the enquiry before directed shall show to be contained on an average in dollars of the several dates in circulation with us. That the unit shall be divided into fractions decimally expressed. That there shall be a coin of silver of the value of an unit, one other of the same metal of one-tenth of an unit, one other of copper of the value of the hundredth of an unit. That there shall be a coin of gold of the value of ten units. (From a draft of a report presented to Congress, 1784. F. III., 391.)

MONEY.—It would be best that our medium should be so proportioned to our produce, as to be on a par with that of the countries with which we trade, and whose medium is in a sound state; that specie is the most perfect medium, because it will preserve its own level; because having intrinsic and universal value, it can never die in our hands, and it is the surest resource of reliance in time of war; the trifling economy of paper, as a cheaper medium, or its convenience for transmission, weighs nothing in opposition to the advantages of the precious metals; that it is liable to be abused, has been, is, and forever will be abused in every country in which it is permitted; that it is already at a term of abuse in these States, which has never been reached by any other nation, France excepted, whose dreadful catastrophe should be a warning against the instrument which produced it; that we are already

at ten or twenty times the due quantity of medium; and that it is a palpable falsehood to say we can have specie for our paper whenever demanded. Instead, then, of yielding to the cries of scarcity of medium set up by speculation, projectors and commercial jobbers, no endeavor should be spared to begin the work of reducing it by such gradual means as may give time to private fortunes to preserve their poise, and settle down with the subsiding medium; and that, for this purpose, the States should be urged to concede to the general government, with a saving of chartered rights, the exclusive power of establishing banks of discount for paper. (To J. W. Eppes, 1813. C. VI., 246.)

Money.—I should say, put down all banks, admit none but a metallic circulation, that will take its proper level with the like circulation in other countries, and then our manufacturers may work in fair competition with those of other countries, and the import duties which the government may lay for the purposes of revenue will so far place them above equal competition. (To Mr. Pinckney, 1820. C. VII., 180.)

Monroe Doctrine.—I could honestly, therefore, join in the declaration proposed, that we aim not at the acquisition of any of those possessions, that we will not stand in the way of any amicable arrangement between them and the mother country; but that we will oppose, with all our means, the forcible interposition of any other power, as auxiliary, stipendiary, or under any other form or pretext, and most especially, their transfer to any power by conquest, cession or acquisition in any other way. (To James Monroe, 1823. C. VII., 317.)

Monticello.—And our own dear Monticello, where has nature spread so rich a mantle under the eye? Mountains, forests, rocks, rivers. With what majesty do we there ride above the storms! How sublime to look down into the workhouse of nature, to see her clouds, hail, snow, rain, thunder, all fabricated at our feet! And the glorious sun when rising as if out of a distant water, just gilding the tops of the mountains, and giving life to all nature. (To Mrs. Maria Cosway, written in Paris, 1786. F. IV., 316.)

MORALITY.—The moral sense or conscience is as much a part of man as his leg or arm. It is given to all human beings in a stronger or weaker degree, as force of members is given them in a greater or less degree. It may be strengthened by exercise, as may any particular limb of the body. This sense is submitted indeed in some degree to the guidance of reason; but it is a small stock which is required for this; even a less one than what we call common sense. State a moral case to a ploughman and a professor. The former will decide it as well, and often better, than the latter, because he has not been led astray by artificial rules. (To Peter Carr, 1787. F. IV., 429.)

MORALITY.—Reading, reflection and time have convinced me that the interests of society require the observation of those moral precepts only in which all religions agree (for all forbid us to murder, steal, plunder or bear false witness); and that we should not intermeddle with the particular dogmas in which all religions differ, and which are totally unconnected with morality. In all of them we see good men, and as many in one as another. The varieties in the structure and action of the human mind as in those of the body, are the work of our Creator, against which it cannot be a religious duty to erect the standard of uniformity. The practice of morality being necessary for the well-being of society, he has taken care to impress its precepts so indelibly on our hearts that they shall not be effaced by the subtleties of our brain. We all agree in the obligation of the moral precepts of Jesus, and nowhere will they be found delivered in greater purity than in his discourses. (To James Fishback, 1809, C. V., 471.)

MORALITY.—The answer is that nature has constituted utility to man the standard and best of virtues. Men living in different countries, under different circumstances, different habits and regimens, may have different utilities; the same act, therefore, may be useful, and consequently virtuous in one country which is injurious and vicious in another differently circumstanced. I sincerely, then, believe with you in the general existence of a moral instinct. I think it is the brightest gem with which the human character is studded, and the want of it as more degrad-

ing than the most hideous of the bodily deformities. (To Thomas Law, 1814. C. VI., 351.)

Morals.—Morals were too essential to the happiness of mankind to be risked on the uncertain combination of the head. Nature laid their foundation, therefore, in sentiment, not in science. That she gave to all as necessary to all; this to a few only, as sufficing for a few. * * * A few facts will suffice to prove that nature has not organized reason for our moral direction. * * * If our country, when pressed with wrongs at the point of the bayonet, had been governed by its heads instead of its hearts, where should we have been now? Hanging on a gallows as high as Haman's. The heads began to calculate and compare numbers; the hearts threw up a few pulsations of their warmest blood; they supplied enthusiasm against wealth and numbers; they put their existence to the hazard when the hazard seemed against us, and they saved the country; justifying the ways of Providence, whose precept is to always do what is right and leave the issue to him. (To Mrs. Maria Cosway, written in Paris, 1782. F. IV., 320.)

Morris, Gouverneur.—Incident to these, only one circumstance has perhaps not reached you: the opposition to that of Gouverneur Morris upon the following principles: First, his general character, being such that we would not confide in it; second, his known attachment to monarchy and contempt of Republican government; third, his present employment abroad being a news vender of back lands and certificates. (To Archibald Stuart, 1791. F. V., 454.)

Music.—If there is a gratification which I envy any people in this world it is to your country its music. This is the favorite passion of my soul and fortune has cast my lot in a country where it is in a state of deplorable barbarism. (To a friend in Europe, 1778. F. II., 158.)

Names.—I agree with you entirely in condemning the mania of giving names to objects of any kind after persons still living. Death alone can seal the title of any man to this honor by putting it out of his power to forfeit it. (To Benjamin Rush, 1800. F. VII., 460.)

National Government.—It is a singular phenomenon that while our State governments are the very best in the world, without exception or comparison, our general government has in the rapid course of nine or ten years become more arbitrary and has swallowed up more of the public liberty than even that of England. (To John Taylor, 1798. F. VII., 311.)

National University.—Education is here placed among the articles of public care, not that it would be proposed to take its ordinary branches out of the hands of private enterprise, which manages so much better all the concerns to which it is equal; but a public institution can only supply those sciences which, though rarely called for, are yet necessary to complete the circle, all the parts of which contribute to the improvement of the country, and some of them to its preservation. The subject is now proposed for the consideration of Congress, because, if approved, by the time the State Legislature shall have deliberated on this extension of the federal trusts, and the laws shall be passed, and other arrangements made for their execution, the necessary funds will be on hand and without employment. I suppose an amendment to the Constitution, by consent of the States, necessary, because the objects now recommended are not among the enumerated in the Constitution, and to which it permits the public moneys to be applied.

The present consideration of a national establishment for education, particularly, is rendered proper by this circumstance also, that if Congress, approving the proposition, shall yet think it more eligible to found it on donation of lands, they have it now in their power to endow it with those which will be among the earliest to produce the necessary income. This foundation would have the advantage of being independent of war, which may suspend other improvements by requiring for its own purposes the resources destined for them. (Sixth Annual Message, 1806. F. VIII., 494.)

Naturalization.—All persons who by their own oath or affirmation, or by other testimony shall give satisfactory proof to any court of record in this Colony that they propose to reside in the same seven years at the least, and who shall subscribe

to the fundamental laws, shall be considered as residents and entitled to all the rights of persons natural born. (From a proposed Constitution for Virginia, 1776. F. II., 26.)

NATURALIZATION.—I cannot omit recommending a revisal of the laws on the subject of naturalization. Considering the ordinary chances of human life, a denial of citizenship under a residence of fourteen years is a denial to a great proportion of those who ask it, and controls a policy pursued from their first settlement by many of these States; and still believed of consequence to their prosperity. And shall we refuse the unhappy fugitives from distress that hospitality which the savages of the wilderness extended to our fathers arriving in this land? Shall oppressed humanity find no asylum on this globe? The Constitution, indeed, has wisely provided that, for admission to certain offices of important trust, a residence shall be required sufficient to develop character and design. But might not the general character and capabilities of a citizen be safely communicated to every one manifesting a bona fide purpose of embarking his life and fortunes permanently with us? With restrictions, perhaps, to guard against the fraudulent usurpation of our flag; an abuse which brings so much embarrassment and loss on the genuine citizen; and so much danger to the nation of being involved in war, that no endeavor should be spared to detect and suppress it. (First Annual Message, 1801. F. VIII., 124.)

NAVIGATION OF THE MISSISSIPPI.—We cannot omit this occasion of urging on the Court of Madrid the necessity of hastening a final acknowledgment of our right to navigate the Mississippi; a right which has long been suspended in exercise, with extreme inconvenience on our part merely with a desire of reconciling Spain to what it is impossible for us to relinquish. (To U. S. Charge D'Affaires in Spain, 1791. F. V., 298.)

NAVIGATION.—If we appeal to the law of nature and nations as we feel it written in the heart of man, what sentiment is written in deeper characters than that the ocean is free to all men, and the rivers to all their inhabitants? Is there a man, savage or civilized, unbiased by habit, who does not feel and attest this tribute? Accordingly in all tracts of country united

under the same political society, we find this natural right universally acknowledged and protected by laying the navigable rivers open to all their inhabitants. (From a report on Negotiation with Spain, 1792. F. V., 468.)

NAVIGATION.—Our navigation involves still higher considerations. As a branch of industry, it is valuable, but as a resource of defense essential. Its value as a branch of industry is enhanced by the dependence of so many other branches on it. In times of general peace it multiplies competitors for employment in transportation, and so keeps that at its proper level; and in times of war, that is to say, when those nations who may be our principal carriers, shall be at war with each other, if we have not within ourselves the means of transportation, our produce must be exported in belligerent vessels, at the increased expense of war-freight and insurance, and the articles which will not bear that must perish on our hands.

But it is as a source of defense that our navigation will admit neither negligence nor forbearance. The position and circumstances of the United States leave them nothing to fear on their land-board, and nothing to desire beyond their present rights. But on their sea-board they are open to injury, and they have there, too, a commerce which must be protected. This can only be done by possessing a respectable body of citizen seamen, and of artists and establishments in readiness for ship-building. (From a report on the Commerce of the United States, 1793. F. VI., 480.)

NAVY.—We have two plans to pursue. The one to carry nothing for ourselves and thereby render ourselves invulnerable to the European states, the other (which our country will be for) is to carry as much as possible. But this will require a protecting force on the sea. Otherwise the smallest power in Europe, every one which possesses a single ship of the line, may dictate to us and enforce their demands by captures on our commerce. Some naval force, then, is necessary if we mean to be commercial. (To James Monroe, 1785. F. IV., 32.)

NAVY.—I believe I shall have to advertise for a Secretary of the Navy. General Smith is performing the duties gratis, as

he refuses both commission and salary, even his expenses, lest it should affect his seat in the House of Representatives. (To Gouverneur Morris, 1801. F. VIII., 49.)

NEGROES.—Never yet could I find that a black had uttered a thought above the level of plain narration; never seen even an elementary trait of painting or sculpture. In music they are generally more gifted than the whites, with accurate ears for tune and time, and they have been found capable of imagining a small catch. Whether they will be equal to the composition of a more extensive run of melody, or of complicated harmony, is yet to be proved. (From "Notes on Virginia," 1782. F. III., 246.)

NEGROES.—Whether further observation will or will not verify the conjecture that nature has been less bountiful to them in the endowments of the head, I believe that in those of the heart she will be found to have done them justice. That disposition to theft with which they have been branded must be ascribed to their situation, and not to any depravity of the moral sense. The man in whose favor no laws of property exist, probably feels himself less bound to respect those made in favor of others. * * * It is a problem which I give to the master to solve whether the slave may not justifiably take a little from one who has taken all from him, as he may slay one who would slay him? (From "Notes on Virginia," 1782. F. III., 249.)

NEGROES.—It will probably be asked, "Why not retain and incorporate the blacks (after the proposed emancipation) into the State and thus save the expense of supplying by importation of white settlers, the vacancies they will leave?" Deep rooted prejudices entertained by the whites; ten thousand recollections by the blacks, of the injuries they have sustained; new provocations; the real distinctions which nature has made; and many other circumstances will divide us into parties, and produce convulsions, which will probably never end but in the extermination of the one or the other race. (From "Notes on Virginia," 1782. F. III., 244.)

NEGROES.—Nobody wishes more than I do to see such proofs

as you exhibit that nature has given to our black brethren talents equal to those of the other colors of men, and that the appearance of the want of them is owing merely to the degraded condition of their existence both in Africa and America. I can add with truth that nobody wishes more ardently to see a good system commenced for raising the condition of their body and mind to what it ought to be, as fast as the imbecility of their present existence, and other circumstances which cannot be neglected, will admit. (To Benjamin Bainecker, 1791. F. V., 378.)

Neighbors.—The testimony of my native country, of the individuals who have known me in private life, to my conduct in its various duties and relations, is the more grateful, as proceeding from eye witnesses and observers, from triers of the vicinage. Of you, then, my neighbors, I may ask, in the face of the world, "Whose ox have I taken, or whom have I defrauded? Whom have I oppressed, or of whose hand have I received a bribe to blind my eyes therewith?" On your verdict I rest with conscious security. (To the inhabitants of Albemarle County, 1809. C. V., 439.)

Nepotism.—Bringing into office no desires of making it subservient to the advancement of my own private interests, it has been no sacrifice, by postponing them, to strengthen the confidence of my fellow citizens. But I have not felt equal indifference towards excluding merit from office, merely because it was related to me. However, I have thought it my duty so to do, that my constituents may be satisfied, that, in selecting persons for the management of their affairs, I am influenced by neither personal nor family interests, and, especially, that the field of public office will not be perverted by me into a family property. (To Horatio Turpin, 1807. C. V., 90.)

Nepotism.—In the course of the trusts I have exercised through life with powers of appointment, I can say with truth, and with unspeakable comfort, that I never did appoint a relation to office, and that merely because I never saw the case in which some one did not offer, or occur, better qualified. (To J. C. Cabell, 1824. C. VII., 331.)

NEPOTISM.—The public will never be made to believe that an appointment of a relative is made on the ground of merit alone, uninfluenced by family views; nor can they ever see with approbation offices the disposal of which they entrust to their Presidents for public purposes divided out as family property. * * * It is true that this places the relatives of the President in a worse situation than if he were a stranger, but the public good which cannot be affected if its confidence be lost requires the sacrifice. Perhaps, too, it is compensated by sharing in the public esteem.

NEWS.—Every one may observe by recollecting that when he has been long absent from his neighborhood the small news of that is the most pleasing and occupies his first attention, either when he meets with a person from thence, or returns thither himself. I shall hope, therefore, that the letter in which you have been so good as to give me the minute occurrences in the neighborhood of Monticello may yet come to hand. (To Archibald Stuart, written from Paris, 1786. F. IV., 187.)

NEWSPAPERS.—At a very early period of my life I determined never to put a sentence into any newspaper. I have religiously adhered to the resolution through my life and have great reason to be contented with it. Were I to undertake to answer the calumnies of the newspapers it would be more than all my time and twenty aids could effect. For, while I should be answering one, twenty new ones would be invented. I have thought it better to trust to the justice of my countrymen that they would judge me by what they see of my conduct on the stage where they have placed me. (To Samuel Smith, 1798. F. VII., 279.)

NEWSPAPERS.—A coalition of sentiments is not for the interests of printers. They, like the clergy, live by the zeal they can kindle and the schemes they can create. It is contest of opinion in politics as well as religion which makes us take great interest in them, and bestow our money liberally on those who furnish aliment to our appetite. The mild and simple principles of Christian philosophy would produce too much calm, too much regularity of good, to extract from its disciples a support for a numerous priesthood, were they not to sophisticate it,

ramify it, split it into hairs, and twist its texts till they cover the divine morality of its author with mysteries, and require a priesthood to explain them. * * * So the printers can never leave us in a state of perfect rest and union of opinion. They would be no longer useful and would have to go to the plough. (To Elbridge Gerry, 1801. F. VIII., 42.)

NEWSPAPERS.—The basis of our government being the opinion of the people, the very first object should be to keep that right; and were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter. But I should mean that every man should receive these papers and be capable of reading them. (To Edward Carrington, written from Paris, 1787. F. IV., 360.)

NEWSPAPERS.—To your request of my opinion of the manner in which a newspaper should be conducted, so as to be most useful, I should answer, "by restraining it to true facts and sound principles only." Yet I fear such a paper would find few subscribers. It is a melancholy truth, that a suppression of the press could not more completely deprive the nation of its benefits, than is done by its abandoned prostitution to falsehood. Nothing can now be believed which is seen in a newspaper. Truth itself becomes suspicious by being put into that polluted vehicle. The real extent of this state of misinformation is known only to those who are in situations to confront facts within their knowledge with the lies of the day. I really look with commiseration over the great body of my fellow citizens who, reading newspapers, live and die in the belief that they have known something of what has been passing in the world in their time; whereas, the accounts they have read in newspapers are just as true a history of any other period of the world as of the present, except that the real names of the day are affixed to their fables. General facts may indeed be collected from them, such as that Europe is now at war, that Bonaparte has been a successful warrior, that he has subjected a great portion of Europe to his will, etc., etc.; but no details can be relied upon. I will add, that the man who never looks into a

newspaper is better informed than he who reads them; inasmuch as he who knows nothing is nearer to truth than he whose mind is filled with falsehoods and errors. (To John Norvell, 1807. C. V., 91.)

NEWSPAPERS.—See The Press.

NEWSPAPER CORRESPONDENCE.—I never did in my life, either by myself or by any other, have a sentence of mine inserted in a newspaper without putting my name to it; and I believe I never shall. (To John Adams, 1791. F. V., 355.)

NON-INTERCOURSE.—The idea seems to gain credit that the naval powers combined against France will prohibit supplies even of provisions to that country. Should this be formally notified I should suppose Congress would be called, because it is a justifiable cause of war. * * * But I should hope war would not be their choice. I think it will furnish a happy opportunity of setting another example to the world, by showing nations may be brought to do justice by appeals to their interests as well as by appeals to their arms. I should hope that Congress instead of a denunciation of war would instantly exclude from our ports all the manufactures, produce, vessels and subjects of the nations committing this aggression during the continuance of the aggression and till full satisfaction made for it. This would work well in many ways, safely in all, and introduce between nations another empire than arms. It would relieve us, too, from the risks and the horrors of cutting throats. (To James Madison, 1793. F. VI., 192.)

NOVELS.—A great obstacle to good education is the inordinate passion prevalent for novels, and the time lost in that reading which should be instructively employed. When this passion infects the mind, it destroys its tone and revolts it against wholesome reading. Reason and fact, plain and unadored, are rejected. Nothing can gain attention unless dressed in all the figments of fancy, and nothing so bedecked comes amiss. The result is a bloated imagination, sickly judgment, and disgust towards all the real business of life. This mass of trash, however, is not without some distinction; some few modelling their narratives, although fictitious, on the incidents

of real life, have been able to make them interesting and useful vehicles of a sound morality. Such, I think, are Marmontel's new moral-tales, but not his old ones; which are really immoral. Such are the writings of Miss Edgeworth, and some of those of Madame Genlis. For a like reason, too, much poetry should not be indulged. Some is useful for forming style and taste. Pope, Dryden, Thompson, Shakespeare, and of the French, Molière, Racine, the Corneilles, may be read with pleasure and improvement. (To N. Burwell, 1818. C. VII., 101.)

NULLIFICATION.—See Kentucky Resolutions.

OFFICES.—In our country you know talents alone are not to be the determining circumstance, but a geographical equilibrium is to a certain degree expected. The different parts in the Union expect to share the public appointments. (To Horatio Gates, 1801. F. VIII., 11.)

OFFICES.—That some ought to be removed from office, and that all ought not, all mankind will agree. But where to draw the line perhaps no two will agree. Consequently, nothing like a general approbation on this subject can be looked for. Some principles have been the subject of conversation, but not to determination; e. g., all appointments to civil offices during pleasure made after the event of the election was certainly known to Mr. Adams are considered as nullities. I do not view the persons appointed as even candidates for the office, but make others without noticing or notifying them. Mr. Adams' best friends have agreed this is right. Officers who have been guilty of official malconduct are proper subjects of removal. Good men, to whom there is no objection but a difference of political principle, practised on only as far as the right of a private citizen will justify, are not proper subjects of removal, except in the cases of attorneys and marshals. The courts being as decidedly federal and irremovable, it is believed that Republican attorneys and marshals being the doors of entrance into the courts are indispensably necessary as a shield to the Republican part of our fellow citizens, which I believe is the main body of the people. (To William Giles, 1801. F. VIII., 25.)

OFFICES.—With regard to appointments, I have so much confidence in the justice and good sense of the Federalists that I have no doubt they will concur in the fairness of the position that after they have been in the exclusive possession of all the offices from the very first origin of party among us to the third of March at nine o'clock in the night, no Republican ever admitted, and this doctrine newly avowed, it is now perfectly just that the Republicans should come in for the vacancies which may fall in until something like an equilibrium in office be restored; after which *Tros Tyriusque nullo discrimine habetur.* * * * Of the thousand of officers in the United States a very few individuals only, probably not twenty will be removed; and these only for doing what they ought not to have done. * * * I know that in stopping thus short in the career of removal, I shall give offense to many of my friends. That torrent has been pressing me heavily and will require all my force to bear up against; but my maxim is "*fiat justitia, ruat caelum.*" After the first unfavorable impressions of doing too much in the opinion of some and too little in that of others shall be got over, I should hope a steady line of conciliation very practicable, and that without yielding a single Republican principle. (To Benjamin Rush, 1801. F. VIII., 32.)

OFFICES.—Pray recommend one to me as a marshal; and let him be the most respectable and inexceptionable possible; and especially let him be Republican. The only shield for our Republican citizens against the federalism of the courts is to have the attorneys and marshals Republicans. There is nothing I am so anxious about as good nominations, conscious that the merit as well as reputation of an administration depends as much upon that as on its measures. (To Archibald Stuart, 1801. F. VIII., 47.)

OFFICES.—In Connecticut alone a general sweep seems to be called on for principles of justice and policy. Their Legislature now sitting are removing every Republican even from the commissions of the peace and the lowest offices. There then we will retaliate. Whilst the Federalists are taking possession of all the State offices, exclusively, they ought not to expect we will

leave them the exclusive possessions of these at our disposal. The Republicans have some rights and must be protected. (To W. C. Nicholas, 1801. F. VIII., 64.)

OFFICES.—When it is considered that during the late administration, those who were not of a particular sect of politics were excluded from all office; when, by a steady pursuit of this measure, nearly the whole offices of the United States were monopolized by that sect; when the public sentiment at length declared itself, and burst open the doors of honor and confidence to those whose opinions they more approved, was it to be imagined that this monopoly of office was still to be continued in the hands of the minority? Does it violate their equal rights, to assert some rights in the majority also? Is it political intolerance to claim a proportionate share in the direction of public affairs? Can they not harmonize in society unless they have everything in their own hands? If the will of the nation, manifested by their various elections, calls for an administration of government according with the opinions of those elected; if, for the fulfilment of that will, displacements are necessary, with whom can they so justly begin as with persons appointed in the last moments of an administration, not for its own aid, but to begin a career at the same time with their successors, by whom they had never been approved, and who could scarcely expect from them a cordial co-operation? * * * If a due participation of office is a matter of right, how are vacancies to be obtained? Those by death are few; by resignation, none. Can any other mode than that by removal be proposed? This is a painful office; but it is made my duty, and I meet it as such. I proceed in the operation with deliberation and inquiry, that it may injure the best men least, and effect the purposes of justice and public utility with the least private distress; that it may be thrown, as much as possible, on delinquency, on oppression, on intolerance, on incompetence, on ante-revolutionary adherence to our enemies. * * * I lament sincerely that unessential differences of political opinion should ever have been deemed sufficient to interdict half the society from the rights and the blessings of self-government, to

proscribe them as characters unworthy of every trust. It would have been to me a circumstance of great relief, had I found a moderate participation of office in the hands of the majority. I would gladly have left to time and accident to raise them to their just share. But their total conclusion calls for prompter corrections. I shall correct the procedure; but that done, shall disdain to follow it, and return with joy to that state of things, when the only question concerning a candidate shall be, Is he honest? Is he capable? Is he faithful to the Constitution? (To Elias Shipman and Others, 1801. F. VIII., 69-70.)

Offices.—These letters all relating to office fall within the general rule, which even the very first week of my being engaged in the administration obliged me to establish, to wit, that of not answering letters on office specifically, but leaving the answer to be found in what is done or not done on them. You will readily conceive into what scrapes one would get by saying no, either with or without reason, by using a softer language which might excite false hope or by saying yes prematurely. And to take away all offence from the silent answer, it is necessary to adhere to it in every case rigidly, as well with bosom friends as with strangers. (To Aaron Burr, 1801. F. VIII., 102.)

Offices.—I still think our original idea as to office is best; that is, to depend, for the obtaining a first participation, on deaths, resignations, and delinquencies. This will least affect the tranquillity of the people, and prevent their giving in to the suggestion of our enemies, that ours has been a contest for office, not for principle. This is rather a slow operation, but it is sure if we pursue it steadily, which, however, has not been done with the undeviating resolution I could have wished. To these means of obtaining a just share in the transaction of the public business, shall be added one other, to wit, removal for electioneering, activity, or open and industrious opposition to the principles of the present government, legislative and executive. Every officer of the government may vote at elections according to his conscience; but we should betray the cause committed to our care, were we to permit the influence of

official patronage to be used to overthrow the cause. (To Levi Lincoln, 1802. F. VIII., 176.)

OFFICES.—I have always considered the control of the Senate as meant to prevent any bias or favoritism in the President towards his own relations, his own religion, towards particular States, etc., and perhaps to keep very obnoxious persons out of offices of the first grade. But in all subordinate cases I have ever thought that the selection made by the President ought to inspire a general confidence that it has been made on due inquiry and investigation of character, and that the Senate should interpose their negative only in those particular cases where something happens to be within their knowledge against the character of the person and unfitting him for the appointment. (To the Secretary of the Treasury, 1803. F. VIII., 211.)

OFFICES.—Had you hundreds to nominate, instead of one, be assured they would not compose for you a bed of roses. You would find yourself in most cases with one loaf and ten wanting bread. Nine must be disappointed, perhaps become secret if not open enemies. The transaction of the great interests of our country costs as little trouble or difficulty. There the line is plain to men of some experience. But the task of appointment is a heavy one indeed. He on whom it falls may envy the lot of a Sisyphus or Ixion. Their agonies were of the body—this of the mind. Yet, like the office of hangman, it must be executed by some one. It has been assigned to me and made my duty. I made up my mind to it, therefore, and abandon all regard to consequences. (To Larkin Smith, 1804. F. VIII., 337.)

OFFICES.—No man who has conducted himself according to his duties would have anything to fear from me as those who have done ill would have nothing to hope, be their political principles what they might. The obtaining an appointment presents new difficulties. The Republicans have been excluded from all offices from the first origin of the division into Republican and Federalist. They have a reasonable claim to vacancies

till they occupy their due share. (To Dr. B. S. Bordon, 1801. F. VII., 489.)

Offices.—I have never removed a man merely because he was a Federalist; I have never wished them to give a vote at the election, but according to their own wishes. But as no government could discharge its duties to the best advantage of its citizens if its agents were in a regular course of thwarting instead of executing all its measures (and were employing the patronage and influence of their offices against the government and its measures), I have only requested they would be quiet, and they should be safe; that if their conscience urges them to take an active and zealous part in opposition, it ought also to urge them to retire from a post which they could not conscientiously conduct with fidelity to the trust reposed in them; and on failure to retire, I have removed them; that is to say, those who maintained an active and zealous opposition to the government. (To John Page, 1807. C. V., 136.)

Ohio River.—The Ohio is the most beautiful river on earth. Its current gentle, waters clear, and bosom smooth and unbroken and rapid, a single instance only excepted. (From "Notes on Virginia," 1782. F. III., 93.)

Oligarchy.—I fear the oligarchical executive of the French will not do. We have always seen a small council get into cabals and quarrels, the more bitter and relentless the fewer they are. We saw this in our committee of the States; and that they were from their bad passions incapable of doing the business of the country. I think that for the prompt, clear and consistent action so necessary in an executive unity of person is necessary as with us. (To John Adams, 1796. F. VII., 56.)

Opinion.—For even if we differ in principle more than I believe we do, you and I know too well the texture of the human mind and the slipperiness of human reason to consider differences of opinion otherwise than differences of form or feature. Integrity of views more than their soundness is the basis of esteem. (To Elbridge Gerry, 1799. F. VII., 335.)

Ossian.—The poems of Ossian have been and will, I think during my life, continue to be to me the sources of daily pleas-

ures. The tender and sublime emotions of the mind were never before so wrought up by the human hand. I am not ashamed to own that I think this rude bard of the North the greatest poet that has ever existed. (To Chas. McPherson, a merchant of Edinburgh and a relative of James McPherson, the author of the Ossianic poems, 1773. F. I., 414.)

PAINE, THOMAS.—A writer under the name of Publicola (J. Q. Adams) in attacking all Paine's principles, is very desirous of involving me in the same censure with the author. I certainly merit the same, for I profess the same principles, but it is equally certain I never meant to have entered as a volunteer into the cause. (To James Monroe, 1791. F. V., 352.)

PAINE AND BOLINGBROKE.—You ask my opinion of Lord Bolingbroke and Thomas Paine. They were alike in making bitter enemies of the priests and Pharisees of their day. Both were honest men; both advocates for human liberty. Paine wrote for a country which prevented him to push his reasoning to whatever length it would go. Lord Bolingbroke in one restrained by a constitution, and by public opinion. He was indeed a Tory; but his writings prove him a stronger advocate for liberty than any of his countrymen, the Whigs of the present day. Irritated by his exile, he committed one act unworthy of him, in connecting himself momentarily with a prince rejected by his country. But he redeemed that single act by his establishment of the principles which proved it to be wrong. These two persons differed remarkably in the style of their writing, each leaving a model of what is most perfect in both extremes of the simple and the sublime. No writer has exceeded Paine in ease and familiarity of style, in perspicuity of expression, happiness of elucidation, and in simple and unassuming language. In this he may be compared to Dr. Franklin; and indeed his Common Sense was for a while believed to have been written by Dr. Franklin, and published under the borrowed name of Paine, who had come over with him from England. Lord Bolingbroke's, on the other hand, is a style of the highest order. The lofty, rhythmical, full-flowing eloquence of Cicero! Periods of just measure, their members proportioned, their close full

and round. His conceptions, too, are bold and strong, his doctrine copious, polished and commanding as his subject. His writings are certainly the finest samples in the English language of the eloquence proper for the Senate. His political tracts are safe reading for the most timid religionist, his philosophical, for those who are not afraid to trust their reason with discussions of right and wrong. (To Francis Eppes, 1781. C. VII., 198.)

Paper Money.—I wish it were possible to obtain a single amendment to our Constitution. I would be willing to depend on that alone for the reduction of the administration of our government to the genuine principles of its Constitution; I mean an additional article taking from the Federal Government the power of borrowing. I now deny their power of making paper money or anything else a legal tender. I know that to pay all proper expenses within the year would in case of war be hard upon us. But not so hard as ten wars instead of one. (To John Taylor, 1798. F. VII., 310.)

Pardons.—I have made it a rule to grant no pardon in any criminal case, but on the recommendation of the judges who sat on trial, and the district attorney, or two of them. I believe it a sound rule, and not to be departed from but in extraordinary cases. (To Albert Gallatin, 1806. F. VIII., 465.)

Parliament.—We conceive that the British Parliament has no right to intermeddle with our provisions for the support of civil government or administration of justice. The provisions we have made are such as please ourselves; they answer the substantial purposes of government and justice, and other purposes than these should not be answered. While Parliament pursue their plan of civil government within their own jurisdiction, we hope also to pursue ours without molestation. (From a report on Lord North's "Conciliatory Propositions," 1775. F. I., 480.)

Parole.—With respect to the parole men my sentiments are these: that I unwarily entered into an engagement of which the laws of my country would not permit me to fulfill I should certainly deliver myself to the enemy to cancel that engagement

and free my personal honor from imputation. (To Thomas Nelson, 1781. F. II., 435.)

PAROLE.—By the law of nations a breach of parole can only be punished by strict confinement. I would willingly suppose that no British officer had ever expressed a contrary purpose. It has, however, become my duty to declare that should such a threat be carried into execution, it will be deemed as putting prisoners to death in cold blood, and shall be followed by the execution of so many British prisoners in our possession. (To a British General, 1781. F. II., 512.)

PARTIES.—Parties seem to have taken a very well defined form in this quarter. The old Tories, joined by our merchants who trade in British capital, paper dealers, stock-brokers and the idle rich of the great commercial towns are with the kings. All other descriptions with the French. The war (between France and England) has kindled and brought forward the two parties with an ardour which our own interests merely could never excite. The war between France and England has brought forward the Republicans and Monocrats in every State so openly that their relative numbers are perfectly visible; it appears that the latter are as nothing. (To James Madison, 1793. F. VI., 326.)

PARTIES.—Two parties then do exist in the United States. They embrace respectively the following description of persons:

The anti-Republicans consist of

1. The old refugees and Tories.

2. The British merchants residing among us, and comprising the main body of our merchants.

3. American merchants trading in British capital. Another great portion.

4. Speculators and holders in the banks and public funds.

5. Officers of the Federal Government, with some exceptions.

6. Office hunters willing to give up principles for places. A numerous and noisy tribe.

7. Nervous persons, whose languid fibres have more analogy with a passive than an active state of things.

The Republican party of the Union comprehends:

1. The entire body of land-holders throughout the United States.

2. The body of labourers not being land-holders, whether in husbanding or the arts. (From notes on Professor Ebelling's letter, 1795. F. VII., 47.)

PARTIES.—Were parties here divided merely by a greediness for office, as in England, to take a part with either would be unworthy of a reasonable or moral man, but where the principle of difference is as substantial and as strongly pronounced as between the Republicans and the Monocrats of our country, I hold it as honorable to take a firm and decided part, and as immoral to pursue a middle line as between the parties of honest men and rogues into which every country is divided. (To William Giles, 1795. F. VII., 43.)

PARTIES.—When a Constitution like ours wears a mixed aspect of monarchy and Republicanism its citizens will naturally divide into two classes of sentiment, according as their tone of body or mind, their habits, connections and callings induce them to wish to strengthen either the monarchial or Republican features of the Constitution. Some will consider it as an elective monarchy, which had better be made hereditary, and therefore endeavor to lead towards that all the forms and principles of its administration. Others will view it as an energetic republic, turning in all its points on the pivot of free and frequent elections. The great body of our native citizens are unquestionably of the Republican sentiment. (To James Sullivan, 1797. F. VII., 117.)

PARTIES.—But, my dear friend, if we do not learn to sacrifice small differences of opinion, we can never act together. Every man cannot have his way in all things. If his own opinion prevails at some times, he should acquiesce on seeing that of others preponderate at others. Without this mutual disposition we are disjointed individuals, but not a society. My position is painful enough between Federalists who cry out on the first touch of their monopoly, and Republicans who clamor for universal removal. A subdivision of the latter will increase the perplexity.

I am proceeding with deliberation and inquiry to do what I think just to both descriptions and conciliatory to both. The greatest good we can do our country is to heal its party divisions and make them one people. I do not speak of their leaders who are incurable, but of the honest and well-intentioned body of the people. I consider the pure Federalist as a Republican who would prefer a somewhat stronger executive; and the Republican as one more willing to trust the legislature as a broader representation of the people, and a safer deposit of power for many reasons. But both sects are Republican, entitled to the confidence of their fellow citizens. Not so their quondam leaders covering under the mask of Federalism hearts devoted to monarchy. The Hamiltonians, the Essex-men, the revolutionary Tories, etc. They have a right to tolerance, but neither to confidence nor power. It is very important that the pure Federalist and Republican should see in the opinion of each other but a shade of his own, which by a union of action will be lessened by one-half; that they should see and fear the monarchist as their common enemy, on whom they should keep their eyes, but keep off their hands. (To John Dickinson, 1801. F. VIII., 76.)

PARTIES.—We shall now be so strong that we shall certainly split again; for freemen thinking differently and speaking and acting as they think, will form into classes of sentiment, but it must be under another name; that of Federalism is to become so scanted that no party can rise under it. As the division between Whig and Tory is founded in the nature of men, the weakly and nerveless, the rich and the corrupt, seeing more safety and accessibility in a strong executive; the healthy, firm and virtuous feeling confidence in their physical and moral resources, and willing to part with only so much power as is necessary for their good government, and therefore to retain the rest in the hands of the many, the division will substantially be into Whig and Tory, as in England, formerly. (To Joel Barlow, 1802. F. VIII., 150.)

PARTIES.—I tolerate with the utmost latitude the right of others to differ from me in opinion without imputing to them

criminality. I know too well the weakness and uncertainty of human reason to wonder at its different results. Both of our political parties, at least the honest portion of them, agree conscientiously in the same object—the public good; but they differ essentially in what they deem the means of promoting that good. One side believes it best done by one composition of the governing powers; the others, by a different one. One fears most the ignorance of the people; the other, the selfishness of rulers independent of them. Which is right, time and experience will prove. We think that one side of this experiment has been long enough tried, and proved not to promote the good of the many; and that the other has not been fairly and sufficiently tried. Our opponents think the reverse. With whichever opinion the body of the nation concurs, that must prevail. My anxieties on the subject will never carry me beyond the use of fair and honorable means, of truth and reason; nor have they ever lessened the esteem for moral worth, nor alienated my affections from a single friend, who did not just withdraw himself. (To Mrs. John Adams, 1804. F. VIII., 312.)

PARTIES.—Men have differed in opinion, and been divided into parties by these opinions, from the first origin of societies, and in all governments where they have been permitted freely to think and to speak. The same political parties which now agitate the United States have existed through all time. Whether the power of the people or that of the tyrant (?) should prevail, were questions which kept the States of Greece and Rome in eternal convulsions, as they now schismatize every people whose minds and mouths are not shut up by the gag of a despot. And, in fact, the terms of Whig and Tory belong to natural as well as to civil history. They denote the temper and constitution of the mind of different individuals. To come to our own country and to the time when you and I became first acquainted, we will remember the violent parties which agitated the old Congress, and their bitter contents. There you and I were together, and the Jays, and the Dickinsons, and other anti-independents, were arrayed against us. They cherished the monarchy of England, and we the rights of our countrymen.

When our present government was in the mew, passing from Confederation to Union, how bitter was the schism between the Feds and the Antis. Here you and I were together again. For, although for a moment separated by the Atlantic from the scene of action, I favored the opinion that nine States should confirm the Constitution, in order to secure it, and the others hold off until certain amendment, deemed favorable to freedom should be made, I rallied in the first instant to the wiser proposition of Massachusetts, that all should confirm, and then all instruct their delegates to urge those amendments. The amendments were made, and all were reconciled to the government. But as soon as it was put into motion, the line of division was again drawn. We broke into two parties, each wishing to give the government a different direction; the one to strengthen the most popular branch, the other the more permanent branches, and to extend their permanence. * * * There have been differences of opinion and party differences, from the first establishment of governments to the present day, and on the same question which now divides our own country; that these will continue through all future time; that everyone takes his side in favor of the many, or of the few, according to his constitution, and the circumstances in which he is placed; that opinions, which are equally honest on both sides, should not effect personal esteem or social intercourse; that as we judge between the Claudii and the Gracchi, the Wentworths and the Hampdens of past age, so of those among us whose names may happen to be remembered for awhile, the next generations will judge, favorably or unfavorably, according to the complexion of individual minds, and side they shall themselves have taken; that nothing new can be added by you or me to what has been said by others, and will be said in every age in support of the conflicting opinions on government; and that wisdom and duty dictate an humble resignation to the verdict of our future peers. (To John Adams, 1813. C. VI., 143-146.)

PARTY.—I am not a Federalist, because I never submitted the whole system of my opinions to the creed of any party of men whatever, in religion, in philosophy, in politics, or in any-

thing else where I was capable of thinking for myself. Such an addiction is the last degradation of a free and moral agent. If I could not go to heaven but with a party, I would not go there at all. (To Francis Hopkinson, 1789. F. V., 76.)

PARTY LOYALTY.—As far as my good will may go, for I can no longer act, I shall adhere to my government, executive and legislative, and, as long as they are Republican, I shall go with their measures, whether I think them right or wrong; because I know they are honest, and are wiser and better informed than I am. In doing this, however, I shall not give up the friendship of those who differ from me, and who have equal rights with myself to shape their own course. (To William Duane, 1811. C. V., 592.)

PARTY SPIRIT.—You and I have formerly seen warm debates and high political passions. But gentlemen of different politics would then speak to each other and separate the business of the Senate from that of society. It is not so now. Men who have been intimate all their lives cross the streets to avoid meeting and turn their heads another way lest they should be obliged to touch their hats. This may do for young men with whom passion is enjoyment, but it is afflicting to peaceable minds. Tranquillity is the old man's milk. I go to enjoy it in a few days, and to exchange the roar and tumult of bulls and bears for the prattle of my grandchildren and senile rest. (To Edward Rutledge, 1797. F. VII., 155.)

PATENTS.—Certainly an inventor ought to be allowed a right to the benefit of his invention for some certain time. It is equally certain it ought not to be perpetual; for to embarrass society with monopolies for every utensil existing, and in all the details of life, would be more injurious to them than had the supposed inventors never existed; because the natural understanding of its members would have suggested the same things or others as good. How long the term should be is the difficult question. Our legislators have copied the English estimate of the term, perhaps without sufficiently considering how much longer, in a country so much more sparsely settled, it takes for an invention to become known, and used to an

extent profitable to the inventor. Nobody wishes more than I do that ingenuity should receive a liberal encouragement. (To Oliver Evans, 1807. C. V., 75.)

PATRONAGE.—One thing I will say that as to the future, interferences with elections, whether of the State or general government, by officers of the latter, should be denied cause of removal; because the constitutional remedy by the elective principle becomes nothing, if it may be smothered by the patronage of the general government. (To Thomas McKean, 1801. F. VII., 486.)

PATRONAGE.—See Offices.

PEACE.—It should be our endeavor to cultivate the peace and friendship of every nation, even of that which has injured us most, when we shall have carried our point against her. * * * Never was so much false arithmetic employed on any subject, as that which has been employed to persuade nations that it is their interest to go to war. Were the money which it has cost to gain, at the close of a long war, a little town, or a little territory, the right to cut wood here, or to catch fish there, expended in improving what they already possess, in making roads, opening rivers, building ports, improving the arts and finding employment for their idle poor, it would render them much stronger, much wealthier and happier. This I hope will be our wisdom. (From "Notes on Virginia," 1782. F. III., 279.)

PEACE.—We love and we value peace; we know its blessings from experience. We abhor the follies of war and are not united in its distresses and calamities. (To the United States Commissioner at Spain, 1793. F. VI., 338.)

PEACE.—As to myself I love peace, and I am anxious that we should give the world still another useful lesson, by showing to them other modes of punishing injuries than by war, which is as much a punishment to the punisher as to the sufferer. I love therefore Mr. Clarke's proposition of cutting off all communication with the nation which has conducted itself so atrociously. This you will say may bring on war. If it does, we will meet it like men; but it may not bring on war, and then the experi-

ment will have been a happy one. (To Tench Coxe, 1794. F. VI., 508.)

PEACE.—In the course of this conflict (referring to the Napoleonic wars) let it be our endeavor, as it is our interest and desire, to cultivate the friendship of the belligerent nations by every act of justice and of incessant kindness; to receive their armed vessels with hospitality from the distresses of the sea, but to administer the means of annoyance to none; to establish in our harbors such a police as may maintain law and order; to restrain our citizens from embarking individually in a war in which their country takes no part; to punish severely those persons, citizen or alien, who shall usurp the cover of our flag for vessels not entitled to it, infecting thereby with suspicion those of real Americans, and committing us into controversies for the redress of wrongs not our own; to exact from every nation the observance, toward our vessels and citizens, of those principles and practices which all civilized people acknowledge; to merit the character of a just nation, and maintain that of an independent one, preferring every consequence to insult and habitual wrong. * * * Separated by a wide ocean from the nations of Europe, and from the political interests which entangle them together, with productions and wants which render our commerce and friendship useful to them and theirs to us, it cannot be the interest of any to assail us, nor ours to disturb them. We should be most unwise, indeed, were we to cast away the singular blessings of the position in which nature has placed us, the opportunity she has endowed us with of pursuing at a distance from foreign contentions, the paths of industry, peace and happiness; of cultivating general friendship, and of bringing collisions of interest to the umpirage of reason rather than of force. How desirable then must it be, in a government like ours, to see its citizens adopt individually the views, the interests, and the conduct which their country should pursue, divesting themselves of those passions and partialities which tend to lessen useful friendships, and to embarrass and embroil us in the calamitous scenes of Europe. (Third Annual Message to Congress, 1803. F. VIII., 272.)

PEACE.—Unmeddling with the affairs of other nations, we presume not to prescribe or censure their course. Happy, could we be permitted to pursue our own in peace, and to employ all our means in improving the condition of our citizens. Whether this will be permitted, is more doubtful now than at any preceding time. We have borne patiently a great deal of wrong, on the consideration that if nations go to war for every degree of injury, there would never be peace on earth. But when patience has begotten false estimates of its motives, when wrongs are pressed because it is believed they will be borne, resistance becomes morality. (To Madame de Stael, 1807. C. V., 133.)

PEACE.—We have, therefore, remained in peace, suffering frequent injuries, but, on the whole, multiplying, improving, prospering beyond all example. It is evident to all, that in spite of great losses much greater gains have ensued. When these gladiators shall have worried each other into ruin or reason, instead of lying among the dead on the bloody arena, we shall have acquired a growth and strength which will place us *hors d'insulte*. Peace then has been our principle, peace is our interest, and peace has saved the world this only plant of free and rational government now existing in it. If it can still be preserved, we shall soon see the final extinction of our national debt, and liberation of our revenues for the defence and improvement of our country. * * * However, therefore, we may have been reproached for pursuing our Quaker system, time will affix the stamp of wisdom on it, and the happiness and prosperity of our citizens will attest its merit. And this, I believe, is the only legitimate object of government, and the first duty of governors, and not the slaughter of men and devastation of the countries placed under their care, in pursuit of a fantastic honor, unallied to virtue or happiness; or in gratification of the angry passions, or the pride of administrators, excited by personal incidents, in which their citizens have no concern. Some merit will be ascribed to the converting such times of destruction into times of growth and strength for us. (To Kosciusko, 1811. C. V., 585.)

PEACE.—When peace becomes more losing than war, we may prefer the latter on principles of pecuniary calculation. But for us to attempt, by war, to reform all Europe, and bring them back to principles of morality and a respect for the equal rights of nations, would show us to be only maniacs of another character. We should, indeed, have the merit of the good intentions as well as of the folly of the hero of La Mancha. (To Mr. Wirt. C. V., 595.)

PEACE SPIRIT.—No country perhaps was ever so thoroughly against war as ours. These dispositions pervade every description of its citizens, whether in or out of office. They cannot perhaps suppress their affections or their wishes, but they will suppress the effects of them so as to preserve a fair neutrality. Indeed we shall be more useful (to France) than as parties by the protection which our flag will give to the supplies of provision. In this spirit let all your assurances be given to the government with which you reside. (Instructions to the United States Minister to France, 1793. F. VI., 217.)

THE PEOPLE.—I am myself persuaded that the good sense of the people will always be found to be the best army. They may be led astray for a moment, but will soon correct themselves. The people are the only censors of their governors; and even their errors will tend to keep these to the true principles of their institution. To punish their errors too severely would be to suppress the only safeguard to public liberty. (To Edward Carrington, 1787. F. IV., 359.)

PETITIONS.—For ourselves, we have exhausted every mode of application which our invention could suggest as proper and promising. We have decently remonstrated with Parliament; they have added new injuries to the old. We have wearied our King with applications; he has not deigned to answer us. We have appealed to the native honor and justice of the British nation. Their efforts in our favor have hitherto been ineffectual. What then remains to be done? That we commit our injuries to the evenhanded justice of the Being who doth no wrong, earnestly beseeching him to illuminate the counsels, and prosper the endeavors of those to whom America hath confided her

hopes, that through their wise direction we may again see reunited the blessings of liberty, property, and harmony with Great Britain. (From an address to Governor Dunmore of Virginia, 1775. F. I., 459.)

PHILOSOPHERS.—I am satisfied there is an order of geniuses above that obligation (of government) and therefore exempted from it; nobody can conceive that nature ever intended to throw away a Newton upon the occupation of a crown. It would have been a prodigality for which even the conduct of Providence might have been arraigned, had he been by birth annexed to what was so far below him. Co-operating with nature in her ordinary economy we should dispose of and employ the geniuses of men according to their several orders and degrees. I doubt not there are in your country many persons equal to the task of conducting government; but you should consider that the world has but one Rittenhouse and that it never had one before. (To David Rittenhouse, 1778. F. II., 163.)

PLATO.—Education is chiefly in the hands of persons who, from their profession, have an interest in the reputation and dreams of Plato. They give the tone while at school, and few in their after years have occasion to revise their college opinions. But fashion and authority apart, and bringing Plato to the test of reason, take from him his sophisms, futilities and incomprehensibilities, and what remains? In truth, he is one of the race of genuine sophists, who has escaped the oblivion of his brethren, first, by the elegance of his diction, but chiefly, by the adoption and incorporation of his whimsies into the body of artificial Christianity. His foggy mind is forever presenting the semblances of objects which, half seen through a mist, can be defined neither in form nor dimensions. Yet this, which should have consigned him to early oblivion, really procured him immortality of fame and reverence. The Christian priesthood, finding the doctrines of Christ levelled to every understanding, and too plain to need explanation, saw in the mysticism of Plato materials with which they might build up an artificial system, which might, from its indistinctness, admit

everlasting controversy, give employment for their order, and introduce it to profit, power and pre-eminence. The doctrines which flowed from the lips of Jesus himself are within the comprehension of a child; but thousands of volumes have not yet explained the Platonisms engrafted on them; and for this obvious reason, that nonsense cannot be explained. Their purposes, however, are answered. Plato is canonized; and it is now deemed as impious to question his merits as those of an Apostle of Jesus. He is peculiarly appealed to as an advocate of the immortality of the soul; and yet I will venture to say, that were there no better arguments than his in proof of it, not a man in the world would believe it. It is fortunate for us, that Platonic Republicanism has not obtained the same favor as Platonic Christianity; or we should now have been all living, men, women and children, pell mell together, like beasts of the field or forest. Yet "Plato is a great philosopher," said La Fontaine. But, says Fontenelle, "Do you find his ideas very clear?" "Oh no! he is of an obscurity impenetrable." "Do you not find him full of contradictions?" "Certainly," replied La Fontaine, "he is but a sophist." Yet, immediately after, he exclaims again, "Oh, Plato was a great philosopher." Socrates had reason, indeed, to complain of the misrepresentations of Plato; for in truth, his dialogues are libels on Socrates. (To John Adams, 1814. C. VI., 354.)

Pleasure.—Do not bite at the bait of pleasure until you know there is no hook beneath it. The art of life is the art of avoiding pain; and he is the best pilot who steers clearest of the rocks and shoals with which he is beset. Pleasure is always before us; but misfortune is at our side; while running after that, this arrests us. The most effectual means of being secure against pain is to retire within ourselves, and to suffice with our own happiness. These, which depend on ourselves, are the only pleasures a wise man will count on; for nothing is ours which another may deprive us of. (To Mrs. Maria Cosway, written in Paris, 1786. F. IV., 318.)

Pleasures of the Intellect.—Hence, the inestimable value of intellectual pleasures. Ever in our power, always leading us to

something new, never cloying we ride serene and sublime above the concerns of this mortal world, contemplating truth and nature, matter and motion, the laws which bind up their existence and that Eternal Being who made and bound them up by these laws. (To Mrs. Maria Cosway, written in Paris, 1786. F. IV., 318.)

PLEASURES.—We are not immortal ourselves, my friend, how can we expect our enjoyments to be so? We have no rose without its thorn, no pleasure without alloy. It is the law of our existence and we must acquiesce. It is the condition annexed to all our pleasures, not by us who receive, but by Him who gives them. True, this condition is pressing cruelly upon me at this moment. I feel more fit for death than life. But when I look back upon the pleasures of which it is the consequence, I am conscious they were worth the price I am paying. (To Mrs. Maria Cosway, written from Paris, 1786. F. IV., 321.)

POETRY.—To my own mortification of all living men, I am the last who should undertake to decide as to the merits of poetry. In early life I was fond of it and easily pleased. But as age and cares advanced the powers of fancy have declined. Every year seems to have plucked a feather from her wings till she can no longer waft one to those sublime heights to which it is necessary to accompany the poet. (To John Burke, 1801. F. VIII., 66.)

POLITENESS.—I have mentioned good humor as one of the preservatives of our peace and tranquillity. It is among the most effectual, and its effect is so well imitated and aided, artificially, by politeness, that this also becomes an acquisition of first rate value. In truth, politeness is artificial good humor, it covers the natural want of it, and ends by rendering habitual a substitute nearly equivalent to the real virtue. It is the practice of sacrificing to those whom we meet in society, all the little conveniences and preferences which will gratify them, and deprive us of nothing worth a moment's consideration; it is the giving a pleasure and flattering turn to our expressions, which will conciliate others, and make them pleased with us as well as themselves. How cheap a price for the good will of

another! When this is in return for a rude thing said by another, it brings him to his senses, it mortifies and corrects him in the most salutary way, and places him at the feet of your good nature, in the eyes of the company. (To T. J. Randolph, 1808. C. V., 389.)

The Poor Visited.—To do it most effectually, you must be absolutely incognito, you must ferret the people out of their hovels as I have done, look into their kettles, eat their bread, loll on their beds under pretense of resting yourself, but in fact to find if they are soft. You will feel a sublime pleasure in the course of this investigation, and a sublimer one hereafter, when you shall be able to apply your knowledge to the softening of their beds, or the throwing a morsel of meat into their kettle of vegetables. (To La Fayette, 1787. C. II., 136.)

Power.—An honest man can feel no pleasure in the exercise of power over his fellow citizens. And considering as the only offices of power those conferred by the people directly, that is to say, the executive and legislative functions of the general and the State governments, the common refusal of these, and multiplied resignations, are proofs sufficient that power is not alluring to pure minds, and is not, with them, the primary principle of contest. This is my belief of it; it is that on which I have acted; and had it been a mere contest who should be permitted to administer the government according to its genuine Republican principles, there has never been a moment of my life in which I should have relinquished for it the enjoyment of my family, my poems, my friends and books. (To Mr. Melish, 1813. C. VI., 96.)

Power.—I wish that all nations may recover and retain their independence; that those which are overgrown may not advance beyond safe measures of power, that a salutary balance may be ever maintained among nations, and that our peace, commerce, and friendship may be sought and cultivated by all. It is our business to manufacture for ourselves whatever we can, to keep our markets open for what we can spare or want; and the less we have to do with the amities and enmities of Europe, the better. Not in our day, but in no distant one, we may shake a

rod over the heads of all, which may make the stoutest of them tremble. But I hope our wisdom will grow with our power, and teach us, that the less we use our power, the greater it will be. (To Mr. Leiper, 1815. C. VI., 464.)

PRESBYTERIANS.—Presbyterian spirit is known to be so congenial with friendly liberty, that the patriots after the restoration, finding that the humor of the people was running too strongly to exalt the prerogative of the crown, promoted the dissenting interest as a check and balance, and thus was produced the Toleration Act. (From notes on Religion, 1776. F. II., 98.)

PRESBYTERIANS.—The Presbyterian clergy are the most intolerant of all sects, the most tyrannical and ambitious; ready at the word of the lawgiver, if such a word could now be obtained, to put the torch to the pile, and to rekindle in the virgin hemisphere the flames in which their oracle Calvin consumed the poor Servetus, because he could not find in his Euclid the proposition which has demonstrated that three are one and one is three, nor subscribe to that Calvin, that magistrates have a right to exterminate all heretics to Calvinistic creed. They pant to re-establish, by law, that holy inquisition, which they can now only infuse into public opinion. (To William Short, 1820. C. VII., 157.)

PRESBYTERIANISM.—I had no idea that in Pennsylvania, the cradle of toleration and freedom of religion, it could have arisen to the height you describe. This must be owing to the growth of Presbyterians. The blasphemy and absurdity of the five points of Calvin, and the impossibility of defending them, render their advocates impatient of reasoning, irritable and prone to denunciation. * * * Systematical in grasping at an ascendency over all other sects, Presbyterians aim, like the Jesuits, at engrossing the education of the country, are hostile to every institution which they do not direct, and jealous at seeing others begin to attend at all to that object. (To Dr. Cooper, 1822. C. VII., 266.)

THE PRESIDENCY.—I own I like what Luther Martin tells us was repeatedly voted and adhered to by the Federal conven-

tion, and only altered about twelve days before their rising when some members had gone off, to wit, that he (the President) should be elected for seven years and incapable for ever after. (To William Short, written from Paris, 1788. F. V., 49.)

THE PRESIDENCY.—The first wish of my heart was that you should have been proposed for the administration of the government. On your declining it, I wish anybody other than myself: and there is nothing I so anxiously hope, as that my name may come out either second or third. These would be indifferent to me; as the last would leave me at home the whole year, and the other two-thirds of it. (To James Madison, 1793. F. VII., 91.)

THE PRESIDENCY.—You have seen my name lately tacked so much to eulogy and abuse that I dare say you hardly thought it meant your old acquaintance of '76. In truth, I did not know myself under the pens either of my friends or foes. It is unfortunate for our peace that unmerited abuse wounds while unmerited praise has not the power to heal. These are hard wages for the services of all the activity and healthy years of one's life. I had retired after five and twenty years of constant occupation in public affairs and total abandonment of my own. I retired much poorer than when I entered the public service, and desired nothing but rest and oblivion. My name, however, was again brought forward without consent or expectation on my part (on my salvation I declare it). * * * On principles of public respect I should not have refused; but I protest before my God that I shall from the bottom of my heart rejoice at escaping. * * * I have no ambition to govern men; no passion which would lead me to delight to ride in a storm. *Flumina amo sylvasque inglorius.* (To Edward Rutledge, 1796. F. VII., 93.)

PRESIDENCY.—My opinion originally was that the President of the United States should have been elected for seven years, and forever ineligible afterwards. I have since become sensible that seven years is too long to be irremovable, and that there should be a peaceable way of withdrawing a man in midway who is doing wrong. The service for eight years with a power

to remove at the end of the first four, comes nearly to my principle as corrected by experience. And it is in adherence to that that I am determined to withdraw at the end of my second term. The danger is that the indulgence and attachments of the people will keep a man in the chair after he becomes a dotard, that re-election through life shall become habitual, and election for life follow that. General Washington set the example of voluntary retirement after eight years. I shall follow it, and a few more precedents will oppose the obstacle of habit to anyone after a while who shall endeavor to extend his term. Perhaps it may beget a disposition to establish it by an amendment of the Constitution. I believe I am doing right, therefore, in pursuing my principle. I had determined to declare my intention, but I have consented to be silent on the opinion of friends, who think it best not to put a continuance out of my power in defiance of all circumstances. There is, however, but one circumstance which could engage my acquiescence in another election, to wit, such a division about a successor as might bring in a Monarchist. But this circumstance is impossible. While, therefore, I shall make no formal declarations to the public of my purpose, I have freely let it be understood in private conversation. In this I am persuaded yourself and my friends generally will approve of my views; and should I at the end of a second term carry into retirement all the favor which the first has acquired, I shall feel the consolation of having done all the good in my power, and expect with more than composure the termination of a life no longer valuable to others or of importance to myself. (To John Taylor, 1805. F. VIII., 339.)

Presidential Tours.—I confess that I am not reconciled to the idea of a chief magistrate parading himself through the several States, as an object of public gaze, and in quest of an applause which, to be valuable, should be purely voluntary. I had rather acquire silent good will by a faithful discharge of my duties, than owe expressions of it to my putting myself in the way of receiving them. Were I to make such a tour to Portsmouth or Portland, I must do it to Savannah, perhaps

to Orleans and Frankfort. As I have never yet seen the time when the public business would have permitted me to be so long in a situation in which I could carry it on, so I have no reason to expect that such a time will come while I remain in office. A journey to Boston or Portsmouth, after I shall be a private citizen, would much better harmonize with my feelings, as well as duties; and, founded in curiosity, would give no claims to an extension of it. I should see my friends, too, more at our mutual ease, and be left more exclusively to their society. (To Governor Sullivan, 1807. C. V., 102.)

The Press.—No Government ought to be without censors; and when the press is free, no one ever will. Nature has given to man no other means of sifting out the truth either in religion, law or politics. I think it as honorable to the government neither to know nor notice its sycophants or censors as it would be undignified and criminal to pamper the former and persecute the latter. (To Washington, 1792. F. VI., 108.)

Priestly, Joseph.—Yours is one of the few lives precious to mankind, and for the continuance of which every thinking man is solicitous. Bigots may be an exception. * * * Those who live by mystery and charlatanerie fearing you would render them useless by simplifying the Christian philosophy—the most sublime and benevolent but most perverted system that ever shone on man—endeavored to crush your well-earnt and well-deserved fame. But it was the Liliputians upon Gulliver. Our countrymen have recovered from the alarm into which art and industry had thrown them; science and honesty are replaced on their high ground; and you, my dear sir, as their great apostle, are on its pinnacle. (To Joseph Priestly, 1801. F. VIII., 21.)

Prince of Wales (Afterward George IV.).—As the character of the Prince of Wales is becoming interesting I have endeavored to learn what it truly is. * * * He has not a single element of mathematics or moral philosophy, or any other science on earth, nor has the society he has left been such as to supply the void of education. It has been that of the lowest, the most illiterate and profligate persons of the kingdom, with-

out choice of rank or mind, and with whom the subjects of conversation are only horses, drinking-matches, bawdy-houses, and in terms most vulgar. In fact, he never associated with a man of sense. He has not a single idea of justice, morality, religion, or of the rights of men or any anxiety for the opinion of the world. He carries that indifference for fame so far, that he probably would not be hurt if he was to lose his throne, provided he could be assured of having always meat, horses and women. (To John Jay, written in Paris, 1789. F. V., 62.)

Profession of Political Faith.—I do with sincere zeal wish an inviolable preservation of our present Federal Constitution, according to the true sense in which it was adopted by the States, that in which it was advocated by its friends, and not that which its enemies apprehended, who therefore became its enemies; and I am opposed to the monarchising its features by the forms of its administration with a view to conciliate a first transition to a President and Senate for life, and from that to a hereditary tenure of these offices and thus to worm out the elective principle. I am for preserving to the States the powers not yielded by them to the Union, and to the Legislature of the Union its constitutional share in the division of the powers; and I am not for transferring all the powers of the States to the general government, and all those of that government to the executive branch. I am for a government rigorously frugal and simple, applying all the possible savings of the public revenue to the discharge of the national debt, and not for a multiplication of officers and salaries merely to make partisans and for increasing by every device the public debt on the principle of its being a public blessing. I am for relying, for internal defense, on our militia solely, till actual invasion, and for such a naval force only as may protect our coasts and harbors from such depredations as we have experienced; and not for a standing army in time of peace, which may overawe the public sentiment; nor for a navy which by its own expenses and the external wars in which it will implicate us, will grind us with public burthens and sink us under them. I am for free commerce with all nations; political connection with none; and

little or no diplomatic establishment. And I am not for linking ourselves by new treaties with the generals of Europe; entering that field of slaughter to preserve their balance, or joining in the confederacy of kings to war against the principles of liberty. I am for freedom of religion and against all manoeuvres to bring about a legal ascendency of one sect over another; for freedom of the press and against all violations of the Constitution to silence by force and not by reason the complaints or criticisms just or unjust of our citizens against the conduct of their agents. And I am for encouraging the progress of science in all its branches; and not for raising a hue and cry against the sacred name of philosophy; for awing the human mind by stories of raw-head and bloody bones to a distrust of its own vision and to rely implicitly on that of others; to go backward instead of forward to look for improvement; to believe that government, religion, morality, and every other science were in the highest perfection in ages of the darkest ignorance and that nothing can ever be devised more perfect than what was established by our forefathers. To these I will add that I was a sincere well-wisher to the success of the French Revolution, and still wish it may end in the establishment of a free and well-ordered republic; but I have not been insensible to the atrocious depredations they have committed on our commerce. The first object of my heart is my own country. In that is embarked my family, my fortune, and my own existence. I have not one farthing of interest nor one fibre of attachment out of it, nor a single motive of preference of any one nation to another but in proportion as they are more or less friendly to us. (To Elbridge Gerry, 1799. F. VII., 327-329.)

Progress.—The Gothic idea that we are to look backwards instead of forwards for the improvement of the human mind, and to recur to the annals of our ancestors for what is not perfect in government, in religion and in learning is worthy of those bigots in religion and government by whom it has been recommended and whose purposes it would answer. But it is not an idea which this country will endure. (To Joseph Priestly, 1800. F. VII., 416.)

PROTECTION.—The Government of the United States, at a very early period, when establishing its tariff on foreign importations, were very much guided in their selection of objects by a desire to encourage manufactures within ourselves. (To ——— ———, 1821. C. VII., 220.)

PROTECTION.—I do not mean to say that it may not be for the general interest to foster for a while certain infant manufactures until they are strong enough to stand against foreign rivals; but when evident that they will never be so, it is against right, to make the other branches of industry support them. (To Samuel Smith, 1823. C. VII., 285.)

PUBLIC OPINION.—I cannot decide between Andrew Alexander, John Alexander, and John Camphers, recommended by different persons for the marshal's office. Pray write me your opinion which appointment would be most respected by the public, for that circumstance is not only generally the best criterion of what is best, but the public respect can alone give strength to the government. (To Archibald Stuart, 1801. F. VIII., 47.)

PUBLIC OPINION.—It will always be interesting to me to know the impression made by any particular thing on the public mind. My idea is that when two measures are equally right, it is a duty of the people to adopt that one which is most agreeable to them; and where a measure not agreeable to them has been adopted, it is desirable to know it, because it is an admonition to a review of that measure to see if it has been really right, and to correct it if mistaken. It is rare that the public sentiment decides universally or unwisely, and the individual who differs from it ought to distrust and examine well his own opinion. (To William Findley, 1801. F. VIII., 27.)

PUBLIC SERVICE.—It is not for an individual to choose his post. You are to marshal us as may be best for the public good; and it is only in the case of its being indifferent to you, that I would avail myself of the opinion you have so kindly offered me in your letter. If you think it better to transfer me to another post, my inclination must be no obstacle; nor shall it be if there is any desire to suppress the office I now hold or to

reduce its grade. In either of these cases, be so good as only to signify to me your ultimate wish, and I will conform to it accordingly. If it should be to remain in New York, my chief comfort will be to work under your eye, my only shelter the authority of your name, and the wisdom of measures to be dictated by you and implicitly executed by me. (To Washington, in reply to an offer of the office of Secretary of State, 1789. F. V., 141.)

Public Service.—The happiest moments of my life have been the few which I have passed at home in the bosom of my family. Employment anywhere else is a mere (?) of time; it is burning the candle of life in perfect waste for the individual himself. I have no complaint against anybody. I have had more of the confidence of my country than my share. I only say that public employment contributes neither to advantage or happiness. It is but honorable exile from one's family and affairs. (To Francis Willis, 1790. F. V., 157.)

The Pulpit.—Whenever preachers, instead of a lesson in religion, put them off with a discourse on the Copernican system, on chemical affinities, on the construction of government, or the characters or conduct of those administering it, it is a breach of contract, depriving their audience of the kind of service for which they are salaried, and giving them, instead of it, what they did not want, or if wanted, would rather seek from better sources in that particular art or science. In choosing our pastor we look to his religious qualifications, without inquiring into his physical or political dogmas, with which we mean to have nothing to do. I am aware that arguments may be found which may twist a thread of politics into the cord of religious duties. So may they for every other branch of human art or science. Thus, for example, it is a religious duty to obey the laws of our country; the teacher of religion, therefore, must instruct us in those laws, that we may know how to obey them. It is a religious duty to assist our sick neighbors; the preacher must, therefore, teach us medicine, that we may do it understandingly. It is a religious duty to preserve our own health; our religious teacher, then, must tell us what dishes

are wholesome, and give us recipes in cookery, that we may learn how to prepare them. And so, ingenuity, by generalizing more and more, may amalgamate all the branches of science into any one of them, and the physician who is paid to visit the sick, may give a sermon instead of medicine, and the merchant to whom money is sent for a hat, may send a handkerchief instead of it. But notwithstanding this possible confusion of all sciences into one, common sense draws lines between them sufficiently distinct for the general purposes of life, and no one is at a loss to understand that a recipe in medicine or cookery, or a demonstration in geometry, is not a lesson in religion. I do not deny that a congregation may, if they please, agree with their preacher that he shall instruct them in medicine also, or law, or politics. Then lectures in these, from the pulpit, become not only a matter of right, but of duty also. But this must be with the consent of every individual; because the association being voluntary, the mere majority has no right to apply the contributions of the minority to purposes unspecified in the agreement of the congregation. (To Mr. Wendover, 1815. C. VI., 445.)

PUNISHMENT.—Any officer or soldier, guilty of mutiny, desertion, disobedience of command, absence from duty or quarters, neglect of guard, or cowardice, shall be punished at the discretion of a court-martial by degrading, cashiering, drumming out of the army, whipping not exceeding 20 lashes, fine not exceeding two months, or imprisonment not exceeding one month. (From the draft of a bill providing against invasions, 1777. F. II., 127.)

PUNISHMENTS.—It frequently happens that wicked and dissolute men, resigning themselves to the dominion of inordinate passions, commit violations on the lives, liberties, and property of others, and the secure enjoyments of these having principally induced men to enter into society, government would be defective in its principal purpose were it not to restrain such criminal acts by inflicting due punishments on those who perpetrate them. (From a bill relating to crimes and punishments, 1779. F. II., 204.)

QUAKERS.—You observe very truly, that both the late and present administration conducted the government on principles professed by the Friends. Our efforts to preserve peace, our measures as to the Indians, as to slavery, as to religious freedom, were all in consonance with their profession. Yet I never expected we should get a vote from them, and in this I was neither deceived nor disappointed. There is no riddle in this to those who do not suffer themselves to be duped by the professions of religious sectaries. The theory of American Quakerism is a very obvious one. The mother society is in England. Its members are English by birth and residence, devoted to their own country as good citizens ought to be. The Quakers of these States are colonies or filiations from the mother society, to whom that society sends its yearly lessons. On these, the filiated societies model their opinions, their conduct, their passions and attachments. A Quaker is essentially an Englishman, in whatever part of the earth he is born or lives. The outrages of Great Britain on our navigation and commerce, have kept us in perpetual bickerings with her. The Quakers here have taken sides against their own government, not on their profession of peace, for they saw that peace was our object also; but from devotion to the views of the mother society. In 1797-8, when an administration sought war with France, the Quakers were the most clamorous for war. Their principle of peace, as a secondary one, yielded to the primary one of adherence to the Friends in England, and what was patriotism in the original, became treason in the copy. On that occasion, they obliged their good old leader, Mr. Pemberton, to erase his name from a petition to Congress against war, which had been delivered to a Representative of Pennsylvania, a member of the late and present administration; he accordingly permitted the old gentleman to erase his name. You must not therefore expect that your book will have any more effect on the Society of Friends here, than on the English merchants settled among us. I apply this to the Friends in general, not universally. I know individuals among them as good patriots as we have. (To Samuel Kercheval, 1810. C. V., 492.)

QUAKERS.—Delaware is essentially a Quaker State, the fragment of a religious sect which, there, in the other States, in England, are a homogeneous mass, acting with one mind, and that directed by the mother society in England. Dispersed, as the Jews, they still form, as those do, one nation, foreign to the land they live in. They are Protestant Jesuits, implicitly devoted to the will of their superiors, and forgetting all duties to their country in the execution of the policy of their order. When war is proposed in England they have religious scruples; but when with France, these are laid by, and they become clamorous for it. They are, however, silent, passive and give no other trouble than of whipping them along. (To Marquis de LaFayette, 1817. C. VII., 66.)

QUARTERING TROOPS.—His majesty has no right to land a single armed man on our shores, and these whom he sends here are liable to our laws made for the suppression and punishment of riots and unlawful assemblies; or are hostile bodies, invading us in defiance of law. He possesses, indeed, the executive power of the laws in every State, but they are the laws of the particular State which he is to administer within that State, and not those of any one within the limits of another. Every State must judge for itself the number of armed men which they may safely trust among them, of whom they are to consist, and under what restrictions they shall be laid. (From "A Summary View," 1774. F. I., 445.)

REBELLION.—The spirit of resistance to government is so valuable on certain occasions, that I wish it always to be kept alive. It will often be exercised when wrong, but better so than not to be exercised at all. I like a little rebellion now and then. It is like a storm in the atmosphere. (To Mrs. John Adams, written in Paris, 1787. F. IV., 370.)

REBELLION.—We have had thirteen independent States eleven years. There has been one rebellion. That comes to one rebellion in a century and a half for each State. What country before ever existed a century and a half without a rebellion? And what country can preserve its liberties if their rulers are not warned from time to time that their people preserve the

spirit of resistance? Let these take arms. The remedy is to set them right as to facts, pardon and pacify them. What signify a few lives lost in a century or two? The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants. It is its natural manure. (To Stephens Smith, written in Paris, 1787. F. IV., 467.)

Reciprocity in Trade.—I should say then to every nation on earth by treaty: Your people shall trade freely with us and ours with you, paying no more than the most favored nation, in order to put an end to the right of individual States acting by fits and starts to interrupt our commerce or to embroil us with any nation. * * * If the nations of Europe from their actual establishments are not at liberty to say to America that she shall trade in their ports duty free, they may say she may trade there paying no higher duties than the most favored nation. And this is valuable in many of those countries where a great difference is made between the different nations. (To James Monroe, written from Paris, 1785. F. IV., 56.)

Reciprocity.—Some nations not yet ripe for free commerce in all its extent might still be willing to mollify its restrictions and regulations for us in proportion to the advantages which an intercourse with us might offer. Particularly they may concur with us in reciprocating the duties to be levied on each side, or in compensating any excess of duty by equivalent advantages of another nature. Our commerce is certainly of a character to entitle it to favor in most countries. The commodities we offer are either necessaries of life, or materials for manufacture, or convenient subjects of revenue; and we take in exchange, either manufactures when they have received the last finish of art and industry or mere luxuries. Such customers may reasonably expect welcome and friendly treatment at every market.

But should any nation contrary to our wishes suppose it may better find its advantages by continuing its system of prohibitions, duties and regulations it behooves us to protect our citizens, their commerce and navigation, by counter prohibitions, duties and regulations also. Free commerce and regulation are not to be given in exchange for restrictions and vexations;

nor are they likely to produce a relaxation of them. (From a report on the Commerce of the United States, 1793. F. VI., 480.)

RECIPROCITY.—The interests of a nation, when well understood, will be found to coincide with their moral duties. Having those, it is an important one to cultivate peace and friendship with our neighbors. To do this we should make provision for rendering the justice we must sometimes require from them. I recommend, therefore, for your consideration whether the laws of the Union should not be extended to restrain our citizens from committing acts of violence within the territories of other nations which should be punished were they committed within our own. (Paragraph of President's Message, 1792. F. VI., 120.)

RECONCILIATION.—Had Parliament been disposed sincerely, as we are, to bring about a reconciliation, reasonable men had hoped, that by meeting us on this ground, something might have been done. Lord Chatham's Bill, on the one part, and the terms of Congress on the other, would have found a basis for negotiation, which a spirit of accommodation on both sides might, perhaps, have reconciled. With a change of Ministers, however, a total change of measures took place. The component parts of the Empire have, from that moment, been falling asunder, and a total annihilation of its weight in the political scale of the world, seems justly to be apprehended. (From address to Governor Dunmore, of Virginia, 1775. F. I., 458.)

RECONCILIATION.—We call for and confide in the good offices of our fellow subjects beyond the Atlantic. Of their friendly dispositions we do not cease to hope. And we devoutly implore assistance of Almighty God to conduct us happily through this great conflict to dispose His Majesty, his ministers, and Parliament to reconciliation with us on reasonable terms, and to deliver us from the evils of a civil war. (From a declaration submitted to Congress giving reasons why Americans had taken up arms, 1775. F. I., 476.)

RE-ELECTION.—I sincerely regret that the unbounded calumnies of the Federal party have obliged me to throw myself on

the verdict of my country for trial, my great desire having been to retire, at the end of the present term, to a life of tranquillity; and it was my decided purpose when I entered into office. They force my continuance. If we can keep the vessel of State as steadily in her course another four years, my earthly purposes will be accomplished, and I shall be free to enjoy, as you are doing, my family, my farm and my books. (To Elbridge Gerry, 1804. F. VIII., 297.)

RELIGION.—Compulsion in religion is distinguished peculiarly from compulsion in every other thing. I may grow rich by an art I am compelled to follow, I may recover health by medicines I am compelled to take against my own judgment, but I cannot be saved by a worship I disbelieve and abhor. (From Notes on Religion, 1776. F. II., 102.)

RELIGION.—I cannot give up my guidance to the magistrate, because he knows no more of the way to heaven than I do, and is less concerned to direct me right than I am to go right. * * * The magistrate has no power but what the people gave. The people have not given him the care of souls because they could not; they could not because no man has the right to abandon the care of his salvation to another. No man has power to let another prescribe his faith. No man can conform his faith to the dictates of another. The life and essence of religion consists in the internal persuasion or belief of the mind. (From Notes on Religion, 1776. F. II., 101.)

RELIGION.—If I be marching on with my utmost vigor in that way which according to sacred geography leads to Jerusalem straight, why am I beaten and ill used by others because my hair is not of the right cut; because I have not been dressed right; because I eat flesh on the road; because I avoid certain by-ways which seem to lead into briars; because I avoid travelers less grave and keep company with others who are more sour and austere? Yet these are the frivolous things which keep Christians at war. (From Notes on Religion, 1776, F. II., 100.)

RELIGION.—Suppose the State should take into head that there should be an uniformity of countenance. Men would be

obliged to put an artificial bump or swelling here, a latch there, etc., but this would be merely hypocritical; or if the alternative was given of wearing a mask, ninety-nine one-hundredths must immediately mask. Would this add to the beauty of nature? Why otherwise in opinions? In the middle ages of Christianity opposition to the State opinions was hushed. The consequence was Christianity became loaded with all the Romish follies. Nothing but free argument, raillery, and even ridicule will preserve the purity of religion. (From Notes on Religion, 1776, F. II., 95.)

Religion.—All persons shall have full and free liberty of religious opinion; nor shall any be compelled to frequent or maintain any religious institution. (From proposed Constitution for Virginia, 1776. F. II., 27.)

Religion.—The advantages accruing to mankind from our Savior's mission are these: First, the knowledge of one God only; second, a clear knowledge of their duty, or system of morality, delivered on such authority as to give sanction; third, the outward forms of religion wanted to be purged of that farcical pomp and nonsense with which they were loaded; fourth, an inducement to a pious life, by revealing clearly a future existence and that it was to be the reward of the virtuous. (From Notes on Religion, 1776. F. II., 94.)

Religion.—The opinions and belief of men depend not on their own will, but follow involuntarily the evidence proposed to their minds. Almighty God hath created the mind free and manifested his supreme will that free it shall remain by making it altogether insusceptible of restraint; all attempts to influence it by temporal punishments, or burthens, or by civil incapacitations, tend only to beget habits of hypocrisy and meanness, and are a departure from the plan of the holy author of our religion. (From a Bill for establishing religious freedom, 1779. F. II., 238.)

Religion.—To compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagations of opinions which he disbelieves and abhors, is sinful and tyrannical; the forcing him to support this or that teacher of his own religious persuasion, is depriving

him of the comfortable liberty of giving his contributions to the particular pastor whose morals he would make his pattern, and whose power he feels most persuasive to righteousness; and is withdrawing from the ministry those temporary rewards, which proceeding from an approbation of their personal conduct, are an additional incentive to earnest and unremitting labours for the instruction of mankind. (From a Bill for establishing religious freedom, 1779. F. II., 238.)

Religion.—The rights of conscience we never submitted (to the rulers) we could not submit. We are answerable to them to our God. The legitimate powers of government extend to such acts only as are injurious to others. But it does me no injury for my neighbor to say there are twenty gods, or no god. It neither picks my pocket nor breaks my leg. If it be said his testimony in a court of justice cannot be relied on, reject it then, and be the stigma on him. Constraint may make him worse by making him a hypocrite, but it will never make him a truer man. It may fix him obstinately in his errors, but it will not cure them. Reason and free inquiry are the only effectual agents against error. They are the natural enemies of error, and error only. (From "Notes on Virginia," 1782. F. III., 264.)

Religion.—You will next read the new testament. It is the history of a personage called Jesus. Keep in your eye the opposite pretensions. First, of those who say he was begotten by God, born of a virgin, suspended and reversed the laws of nature at will, and ascended bodily into heaven; and second, of those who say he was a man of illegitimate birth, of a benevolent heart, enthusiastic mind, who set out without pretensions to divinity, ended in believing them, and was punished capitally for sedition. * * * Do not be frightened from this inquiry by any fear of its consequences. If it ends in a belief that there is no god, you will find incitements to virtue in the comfort and pleasantries you feel in its exercise, and the love of others which it will procure you. If you find reason to believe there is a God, a consciousness that you are acting under his eye and that he approves you, will be vast additional incite-

ment; if that there is a future state, the hope of a happy existence in that increases the appetite to deserve it; if that Jesus was also a God, you will be comforted by a belief of his aid and love. In fine, I repeat, you must lay aside all prejudice on both sides, and neither believe nor reject anything because any other persons or description of persons have rejected it or believed it. Your own reason is the only oracle given you by heaven, and you are answerable not for the rightness but for the uprightness of the decision. (To Peter Carr, Jefferson's nephew, 1787. F. IV., 432.)

RELIGION.—Religion, your reason is now mature enough to examine this object. In the first place, divest yourself of all bias in favor of novelty and singularity of purpose. Indulge them in any other subject than that of religion. It is too important, and the consequences of error may be too serious. On the other hand, shake off all the fears and servile prejudices under which weak minds are servilely crouched. Fix reason firmly in her seat, and call to her tribunal every fact, every opinion. Question with boldness even the existence of a God; because, if there be one, He must more approve of the homage of reason, than that of blindfolded fear. You will naturally examine first the religion of your own country. Read the Bible then as you would Livy and Tacitus. The facts which are in the ordinary course of nature you will believe on the authority of the writer, as you do those of the same kind in Livy and Tacitus. The testimony of the writer weighed in their favor in one scale, and their not being against the laws of nature does not weigh against them. But these facts in the Bible which contradict the laws of nature, must be examined with more care, and under a variety of faces. Here you must recur to the pretensions of the writer to impersonation from God. Examine upon what evidence his pretensions are founded, and whether that evidence is so strong as that its falsehood would be more improbable than a change in the laws of nature in the case he relates. (To Peter Carr, Jefferson's nephew, 1787. F. IV., 430.)

RELIGION.—I consider the government of the United States

as interdicted by the Constitution from intermeddling with religious institutions, their doctrines, discipline, or exercises. This results not only from the provision that no law shall be made respecting the establishment or free exercise of religion, but from that also which reserves to the States the powers not delegated to the United States. Certainly, no power to prescribe any religious discipline, has been delegated to the general government. It must then rest with the States, as far as it can be in any human authority. But it is only proposed that I should recommend, not prescribe a day of fasting and prayer. That is, that I should indirectly assume to the United States an authority over religious exercises, which the Constitution has directly precluded them from. It must be meant, too, that this recommendation is to carry some authority, and to be sanctioned by some penalty on those who disregard it; not indeed of fines and imprisonment, but of some degree of proscription, perhaps in public opinion. And does the change in the nature of the penalty make the recommendation less a law of conduct for those to whom it is directed? I do not believe it is for the interest of religion to invite the civil magistrate to direct its exercises, its disciplines or its doctrines; nor of the religious societies; that the general government should be invested with the power of effecting any uniformity of time or matter among them. Fasting and prayer are religious exercises; the enjoining them an act of discipline. Every religious society has a right to determine for itself the times for these exercises, and the objects proper for them, according to their own particular tenets; and the right can never be safer than in their own hands, where the Constitution has placed it. (To Rev. Mr. Miller, 1808. C. V., 236.)

Religion.—I believe that he who steadily observes those moral precepts in which all religions concur, will never be questioned at the gates of heaven, as to the dogmas in which they all differ. That on entering time, all these are left behind us, and the Aristides and Catos, the Penns and Tillotsons, Presbyterians and Baptists, are in concert with the reason of the supreme mind. Of all the systems of morality, ancient or

modern, which has come under my observation, none appear to me so pure as that of Jesus. He who follows this steadily need not, I think, be uneasy, although he cannot comprehend the subtilities and mysteries erected on his doctrines by those who, calling themselves his special followers and favorites, would make him to come into the world to lay snares for all understandings but theirs. These metaphysical heads, usurping the judgment sent of God, denounce as his enemies all who cannot perceive the geometrical logic of Euclid in the demonstrations of St. Athanasius, that three are one, and one is three; and yet that the one is not three nor the three one. In all essential points you and I are of the same religion; and I am too old to go into inquiries and changes as to the unessential. (To William Canby, 1813. C. VI., 210.)

Religion.—I very much suspected that if thinking men would have the courage to think for themselves, and to speak what they think, it would be found they do not differ in religious opinions as much as is supposed. I remember to have heard Dr. Priestly say, that if all England would candidly examine themselves and confess they would find that Unitarianism was really the religion of all; and I observe a bill is now pending in Parliament for the relief of Anti-Trinitarians. It is too late in the day for men of sincerity to pretend they believe in the Platonic mysticisms that three are one, and one is three; and yet that the one is not three, and the three are not one, to divide mankind by a single letter into Homoiousians and Homoöusians. But this constitutes the craft, the power and the profit of the priests. Sweep away their gossamer fabrics of factitious religion, and they would catch no more flies. We should all then, like the Quakers, live without an order of priests, moralize for ourselves, follow the oracle of conscience, and say nothing about what no man can understand, nor therefore believe; for I suppose belief to be the assent of the mind to an intelligible proposition. (To John Adams, 1813. C. VI., 191.)

Religion.—I must ever believe that religion substantially good which produces an honest life, and we have been authorized by one whom you and I equally respect, to judge of the

tree by its roots. Our particular principles of religion are a subject of accountability to one God alone. I inquire after no man's, and trouble none with mine; nor is it given to us in this life to know whether yours or mine, our friends or our foes, are exactly the right. Nay, we have heard it said that there is not a Quaker or a Baptist, a Presbyterian or an Episcopalian, a Catholic or a Protestant in heaven; that, on entering that gate, we leave those badges of schism behind, and find ourselves united in those principles only in which God has united us all. Let us not be uneasy then about the different roads we may pursue, as believing them the shortest, to that our last abode; but, following the guidance of a good conscience, let us be happy in the hope that by these different paths we shall all meet in the end. (To Miles King, 1814. C. VI., 388.)

Religion.—For it is in our lives and not from our words, that our religion must be read. By the same test the world must judge me. But this does not satisfy the priesthood. They must have a positive, a declared assent to all their interest absurdities. My opinion is that there would never have been an infidel, if there never had been a priest. The artificial structures they have built on the purest of all moral systems, for the purpose of deriving from it pence and power, revolts those who think for themselves and who read in that system only what is really there. These, therefore, they brand with such nick-names as their enmity devises gratuitously to impute. I have left the world, in silence, to judge of causes from their effects; and I am consoled in this course, my dear friend, when I perceive the candor with which I am judged by your justice and discernment; and but, notwithstanding the slanders of the saints, my fellow citizens, have thought me worthy of trusts. The imputations of irreligion having spent their force, they think an imputation of change might now be turned to account as a bolster for their duperies. I shall leave them, as heretofore, to grope on in the dark. (To Mrs. Harrison Smith, 1816. C. VII., 28.)

Religion.—See Christianity.

Religious Freedom.—I am really mortified to be told that, in

the United States of America, a fact like this can become a subject of inquiry, and a criminal inquiry too, as an offense against religion; that a question about the sale of a book can be carried before the civil magistrate. Is this then our freedom of religion? And are we to have a censor whose imprimatur shall say what books may be sold, and what we may buy? And who is thus to dogmatize religious opinions for our citizens? Whose foot is to be the measure to which ours are all to be cut or stretched? Is a priest to be our inquisitor, or shall a layman simple as ourselves, set up his reason as the rule for what we are to read, and what we must believe? It is an insult to our citizens to question whether they are rational beings or not, and blasphemy against religion to suppose it cannot stand the test of truth and reason. If M. de Becourt's book be false in its facts, disprove them; if false in its reasoning, refute it. But, for God's sake, let us freely hear both sides, if we choose. (To M. Dufief, 1814. C. VI., 340.)

Religion of Jefferson.—But while this syllabus is meant to place the character of Jesus in its true and high light, as no impostor himself, but a great reformer of the Hebrew code of religion, it is not to be understood that I am with him in all his doctrines. I am a Materialist; he takes the side of Spiritualism; he preaches the efficacy of repentance towards forgiveness of sin; I require a counterpoise of good works to redeem it, etc., etc. It is the innocence of his character, the purity and sublimity of his moral precepts, the eloquence of his inculcations, the beauty of his apalogues in which he conveys them, that I do so much admire; sometimes, indeed, needing indulgence to eastern hyperbolism. My eulogies, too, may be found on a postulate which may not be ready to grant. Among the sayings and discourses imputed to him by his biographers, I find many passages of fine imaginations, correct morality, and of the most lovely benevolence; and others, again, of so much ignorance, of so much absurdity, so much untruth, charlatanism and imposture, as to pronounce it impossible that such contradictions should have proceeded from the same being. I separate, therefore, the gold from the dross; restore to him the

former, and leave the latter to the stupidity of some, and roguery of others of his disciples. Of this band of dupes and impostors, Paul was the great Coryphaeus, and first corrupter of the doctrines of Jesus. (To William Short, 1820. C. VII., 155.)

Representation.—When the representative body have lost the confidence of their constituents, when they have notoriously made sale of their most valuable rights, when they have assumed to themselves powers which the people never put into their hands, then indeed their continuing in office becomes dangerous to the State, and calls for an exercise of the power of dissolution. (From "A Summary View," 1774. F. I., 442.)

Republicanism.—I see with great pleasure every testimony to the principles of pure Republicanism, and every effort to preserve untouched that partition of the sovereignty which our excellent Constitution has made, between the general and particular governments. I am firmly persuaded that it is by giving due tone to the latter, that the former will be preserved in vigor also, the Constitution having foreseen its incompetency to all the objects of government and therefore confined it to three specially described. * * * It is hoped that by a due poise and partition of powers between the general and particular governments, we have found the secret of extending the benign blessings of republicanism over still greater tracts than we possess. (To James Sullivan, 1791. F. V., 369.)

Republicanism.—There are in the United States some characters of opposite principles; some of them are high in office; others possessing great wealth, and all of them hostile to France and fondly looking to England as the staff of their hope. Their prospects have certainly not brightened. Excepting them, this country is entirely Republican, friends to the Constitution, anxious to preserve it and to have it administered according to its own Republican principles. The little party above mentioned have espoused it only as a stepping stone to monarchy and have endeavored to approximate it to that in its administration in order to render its final transition more easy. The successes of Republicanism in France have given the *coup de grace* to

their prospects and I hope to their projects. (To William Short, 1793. F. VI., 155.)

REPUBLICANISM.—The Constitution to which we are all attached was meant to be Republican, and we believe to be Republican according to every candid interpretation. Yet we have seen it so interpreted and administered as to be truly what the French have called a *monarchie masqué*. So long has the vessel run on this way and been trimmed to it that to put her on her Republican tack will require all the skill, the firmness and the zeal of her ablest and best friends. (To Robert Livingston, 1800. F. VII., 464.)

REPUBLICANISM.—See Democracy.

REPUBLICS.—Convinced that the Republican is the only form of government which is not eternally at open or secret war with the rights of mankind, my prayers and efforts shall be cordially distributed to the support of that we have so happily established. It is indeed an animating thought that, while we are securing the rights of ourselves and our posterity, we are pointing out the way to struggling nations who wish like us, to emerge from their tyrannies also. Heaven help their struggles and lead them, as it has done us, triumphantly through them. (From a reply to an address of the Mayor and citizens of Alexandria, 1790. F. V., 147.)

REPUBLICS.—Perhaps it will be found that to obtain a just republic (and it is to secure our just rights that we resort to government at all) it must be so extensive as that local egoisms may never reach its greater part; that on every particular question a majority may be found in its councils free from particular interests and giving therefore an uniform prevalence to the principles of justice. The smaller the societies, the more violent and convulsive their schisms. We have chanced to live in an age which will probably be distinguished in history for its experiments in government on a larger scale than has as yet taken place. But we shall not live to see the result. The grosser absurdities such as hereditary magistracies, we shall see exploded in our day. * * * But what is to be the substitute? This our children or grandchildren will answer. It is un-

fortunate that the efforts of mankind to recover the freedom of which they have been so long deprived will be accompanied with violence, with errors and even with crimes. But while we weep over the means, we may pray for the end. (To M. D'Ivernois, 1795. F. VII., 4.)

Republics.—It (the recent election of President) furnishes a new doctrine that a republic can be preserved only in a small territory. The reverse is the truth. Had our territory been even a third only of what it is we were gone. But while frenzy and delusion like an epidemic gained certain parts, the residue remained sound and untouched, and held on till their brethren could recover from the temporary delusion. (To Nathaniel Niles, 1801. F. VIII., 24.)

Republics.—Were I to assign to this term a precise and definite idea, I would say, merely and simply, it means a government by its citizens in mass, acting directly and personally, according to rules established by the majority; and that every other government is more or less Republican, in proportion as it has in its composition more or less of this ingredient of the direct action of the citizens. Such a government is evidently restrained to very narrow limits of space and population. I doubt if it would be practicable beyond the extent of a New England township. The first shade from the pure which, like that of pure vital air, cannot sustain life itself, would be where the powers of the government, being divided, should be exercised each by representatives chosen either, *pro hac vice,* or for such short terms as should render secure the duty of expressing the will of their constituents. This I should consider as the nearest approach to a pure Republic, which is practicable on a large scale of country or population. * * * In the general government, the House of Representatives is mainly Republican; the Senate scarcely so at all, as not elected by the people directly, and so long secured even against those who do elect them; the Executive more Republican than the Senate, from its shorter term, its election by the people, in practice (for they vote for A only on an assurance that he will vote for B) and because, in practice also, a principle of rotation seems

to be in a course of establishment; the judiciary independent of the nation, their coercion by impeachment being found nugatory.

If, then, the control of the people over the organs of their government be the measure of its Republicanism, and I confess I know no other measure, it must be agreed that our governments have much less of Republicanism than ought to have been expected; in other words, that the people have less regular control over their agents, than their rights and their interests require. And this I ascribe, not to any want of Republican dispositions in those who formed these constitutions, but to a submission of true principle to European authorities, to speculators on government, whose fears of the people have been inspired by the populace of their own great cities, and were unjustly entertained against the independent, the happy, and therefore orderly citizens of the United States. Much I apprehend that the golden moment is past for reforming these heresies. The functionaries of public power rarely strengthen in their disposition to abridge it, and an organized call for timely amendment is not likely to prevail against an organized opposition to it. We are always told that things are going on well; why change them? *"Chi sta bene, non si muore,"* said the Italian, "let him who stands well, stand still." This is true; and I verily believe they would go on well with us under an absolute monarch, while our present character remains, of order, industry and love of peace and restrained, as he would be, by the proper spirit of the people. But it is while it remains such, we should provide against the consequences of its deterioration. And let us rest in hope that it will yet be done, and spare ourselves the pain of evils which may never happen.

On this view of the import of the term Republic, instead of saying, as has been said, "that it may mean anything or nothing," we may say with truth and meaning, that governments are more or less Republican, as they have more or less of the element of popular election and control in their composition; and believing, as I do, that the mass of the citizens is the safest depository of their own rights, and especially, that the evils flowing

from the duperies of the people, are less injurious than those from the egoism of their agents, I am a friend to that composition of government which has in it the most of this ingredient. And I sincerely believe, with you, that banking establishments are more dangerous than standing armies; and that the principle of spending money to be paid by posterity, under the name of funding, is but swindling futurity on a large scale. (To John Taylor, 1816. F. X., 28-31.)

RESIDENCE OF CONGRESSMEN.—Is the necessity now urgent, to declare that no non-residents of his district shall be eligible as a member of Congress? It seems to me that, in practice, the partialities of the people are a sufficient security against such an election; and that if, in any instance, they should ever choose a non-resident, it must be one of such eminent merit and qualifications, as would make it a good, rather than an evil; and that, in any event, the examples will be so rare, as never to amount to a serious evil. If the case then be neither clear nor urgent, would it not be better to let it be undisturbed? Perhaps its decision may never be called for. But if it be indispensable to establish this disqualification now, would it not look better to declare such others, at the same time, as may be proper? I frankly cannot wish to have them go further. (To J. C. Cahall, 1814. C. VI., 310.)

RETIREMENT.—There may be people to whose tempers and dispositions contention is pleasing, and who, therefore, wish a continuance of confusion, but to me it is of all states but one the most horrid. My first wish is a restoration of our just rights; my second a return of the happy period, when consistently with duty I may withdraw myself totally from the public stage, and pass the rest of my days in domestic ease and tranquillity, banishing every desire of ever hearing what passes in the world. (To John Randolph, 1775. F. I., 482.)

RETIREMENT.—Before I ventured to declare to my countrymen my determination to retire from public employment, I examined well my heart to know whether it were thoroughly cured of every principle of political ambition, whether no lurking particle remained which might leave me uneasy when re-

duced within the limits of mere private life. I became satisfied that every fibre of that passion was thoroughly eradicated. (To James Monroe, 1782. F. III., 56.)

RETIREMENT.—It is a thing of mere indifference to the public whether I retain or relinquish my purpose of closing my tour with the first periodical renovation of the government. I know my own measure too well to suppose that my services contribute anything to the public confidence or the public utility. Multitudes can fill the office in which you have been pleased to place me, as much to their advantage and satisfaction. I, therefore, have no motive to consult but my own inclination, which is bent irresistibly on the tranquil enjoyment of my family, my farms and my books. (To Washington, 1792. F. VI., 6.)

RETIREMENT.—In the meantime, I am going to Virginia. I have at length become able to fix that to the beginning of the New Year. I am then to be liberated from the hated occupations of politics, and to remain in the bosom of my family, my farm and my books. I have my house to build, my fields to farm, and to watch for the happiness of those who labor for mine. I have one daughter married to a man of science, sense, virtue and competence. (To Mrs. Church, 1793. F. VI., 455.)

RETIREMENT.—There has been a time when perhaps the esteem of the world was of higher value in my eyes than everything in it. But age, experience and reflection, preserving to that its only due value, have set a higher on tranquillity. The motion of my blood no longer keeps time with the tumult of the world. It leads me to seek for happiness in the lap and love of my family, in the society of my neighbors and my books, in the wholesome occupations of my farm and my affairs, in an interest or affection in every bud that opens, in every breath that blows around me, in an entire freedom of rest or motion, of thought or incogitancy, owing account to myself alone of my hours and actions. What must be the principle of that calculation which should balance against these the circumstances of my present existence! Worn down with labors from morning to night and day to day; knowing them as fruitless to others as they are vexatious to myself, committed singly in desperate

and eternal contest against a host who are systematically undermining the public liberty and prosperity, cut off from my family and friends, my affairs abandoned to chaos and derangement; in short, giving everything I love in exchange for everything I hate, and all this without a single gratification in possession or prospect, in present enjoyment or future wish. (To James Madison, 1793. F. VI., 292.)

Retirement.—Within a few days I retire to my family, my books and farms; and having gained the harbor myself, I shall look on my friends still buffeting the storm with anxiety indeed, but not with envy. Never did a prisoner, released from his chains, feel such relief as I shall on shaking off the shackles of power. Nature intended me for the tranquil pursuits of science, by rendering them my supreme delight. But the enormities of the times in which I have lived, have forced me to take a part in resisting them, and to commit myself on the boisterous ocean of political passions. I thank God for the opportunity of retiring from them without censure, and carrying with me the most consoling proofs of public approbation. (To Dupont de Nemours, 1809. C. V., 432.)

Revenue.—Is it consistent with good policy or free government to establish a perpetual revenue? Is it not against the practice of our wise British ancestors? Have not the instances in which we have departed from this in Virginia been constantly condemned by the universal voice of our country? Is it safe to make the governing power when once seated in office, independent of its revenue? (To Edmund Pendleton, 1776. F. II., 79.)

Revolution (Causes).—The seeds of the war are here traced to their true source. The Tory education of the king was the first preparation for that change in the British Government which that party never ceases to wish. This naturally ensured Tory administration during his life. At the moment he came to the throne and cleared his hands of his enemies by the peace of Paris, the assumptions of his unwarrantable right over America commenced; they were so signal and followed one another so close as to prove they were part of a system either to re-

duce it under absolute subjection and thereby make it an instrument for attempts on Britain itself, or to sever it from Britain, so that it might not be a weight in the Whig scale. This latter alternative, however, was not considered as the one that would take place. They knew so little of America that they thought it unable to encounter the little finger of Great Britain. (From Answers to the Queries of M. Soulés, written in Paris, 1776. F. IV., 307.)

Rhode Island.—How happens it that Rhode Island is opposed to every useful proposition? Her geography accounts for it, with the aid of one or two observations. The cultivators of the earth are the most virtuous citizens, and possess most of the *amor patriae.* Merchants are the least virtuous, and possess the least of the *amor patriae.* The latter reside principally in the seaport towns, the former in the interior country. Now it happened that of the territory constituting Rhode Island and Connecticut, the part containing the seaports was erected into a State by itself and called Rhode Island, and that containing the interior country was erected into another State called Connecticut. For though it has a little seacoast, there are no good ports in it. Hence, it happens that there is scarcely one merchant in the whole State of Connecticut, while there is not a single man in Rhode Island who is not a merchant of some sort. (From Answers to Questions Propounded by M. de Meusnier, 1786. F. IV., 144.)

Rice.—I find in fact that but a small portion of the rice consumed here is from the American market, but the consumption of this article here is immense. If the makers of American rice would endeavor to adapt the preparation of it to the taste of this country so as to give it over the Mediterranean rice the advantage of which it seems susceptible, it would very much increase the quantity, for which they may find sale. (To John Jay, written in Paris, 1786. F. IV., 237.)

Rights.—Our legislators are not sufficiently apprised of the rightful limits of their power; that their true office is to declare and enforce only our natural rights and duties, and to take none of them from us. No man has a natural right to commit ag-

gression on the equal rights of another; and this is all from which the laws ought to restrain him; every man is under the natural duty of contributing to the necessities of the society; and this is all the laws should enforce on him; and, no man having a natural right to be the judge between himself and another, it is his natural duty to submit to the umpirage of an impartial third. When the laws have declared and enforced all this, they have fulfilled their functions; and the idea is quite unfounded, that on entering into society we give up any natural right. (To F. W. Gilmor, 1816. C. VII., 3.)

ROGUES.—I do not believe with the Rochefoucaulds and Montaignes that fourteen out of fifteen men are rogues; I believe a great abatement from that proposition may be made in favor of general honesty. But I have always found that rogues would be uppermost, and I do not know that the proposition is too strong for the higher orders and for those, who rising above the swinish multitude, always contrive to nestle themselves into places of power and profit. These rogues set out with stealing the people's good opinion, and then steal from them right of withdrawing it by contriving laws and associations against the power of the people themselves. (To Mann Page, 1795. F. VII., 24.)

ROTATION.—To prevent every danger which might arise to American freedom by continuing too long in office the members of the Continental Congress, to preserve to that body the confidence of their friends and to disarm the malignant imputation of their enemies, it is earnestly recommended to the several provinces, Assemblies or Conventions, of the United Colonies that in their future elections of delegates to the Continental Congress one-half at least of the persons chosen be such as were not of the delegation next preceding, and the residue be of such as shall not have served in that office longer than two years. (From a resolution offered in the Continental Congress, 1776. F. II., 61.)

ROTATION.—The second amendment (to the proposed Constitution) which appears to me essential is the restoring the principle of necessary rotation, particularly to the Senate and

Presidency; but most of all the last. Re-eligibility makes him an officer for life, and the disasters inseparable from an elective monarchy, render it preferable, if we cannot tread back that step, that we should go forward and take refuge in an hereditary one. * * * The natural progress of things is for liberty to yield and government to gain ground. (To Edward Carrington, written in Paris, 1788. F. V., 20.)

ROTATION.—When I returned from France, after an absence of six or seven years, I was astonished at the change which I found had taken place in the United States in that time. No more like the same people; their notions, their habits and manners, the course of their commerce, so totally changed, that I, who stood in those of 1784, found myself not at all qualified to speak their sentiments, or forward their views in 1790. Very soon, therefore, after entering on the office of Secretary of State, I recommended to General Washington to establish as a rule of practice, that no person should be continued for foreign mission beyond an absence of six, seven or eight years. (To William Short, 1801. F. VIII., 95.)

ROTATION.—That there are in our country a great number of characters entirely equal to the management of its affairs, cannot be doubted. Many of them, indeed, have not had opportunities of making themselves known to their fellow-citizens; but many have had, and the only difficulty will be to choose among them. These changes are necessary, too, for the security of Republican government. If some period be not fixed, either by the Constitution or by practice, to the services of the First Magistrate, his office, though nominally elective, will, in fact, be for life; and that will soon degenerate into an inheritance. (To Mr. Weaver, 1807. C. V., 89.)

ROTATION.—I am sensible of the kindness of your rebuke on my determination to retire from office at a time when our country is laboring under difficulties truly great. But if the principle of rotation be a sound one, as I conscientiously believe it to be with respect to this office, no pretext should ever be permitted to dispense with it, because there never will be a time when real difficulties do not exist, and furnish a plausible

pretext for dispensation. (To Henry Guest, 1809. C. V., 407.)

SALARIES.—Be assured we are the lowest and most obscure of the whole diplomatic tribe. When I was in Congress, I chose never to intermeddle on the subject of salary, first because I was told the eyes of some were turned on me for this office (Minister to France); and secondly, because I was really ignorant what might be its expenses. * * * I live here about as well as we did at Annapolis. I keep a hired carriage and two horses. A riding horse I cannot afford to keep. This still is far below the level, and return when I will to America I shall be in debt the outfit to Congress. I think I am the first instance in the world where it has not been given. * * * I ask nothing for my time; but think my expenses should be paid in a style equal to that of those with whom I am classed. (To James Madison, 1784. F. IV., 12.)

SALVATION.—The care of every man's soul belongs to himself. But what if he neglect the care of it? Well, what if he neglect the care of his health or estate, which more nearly relate to the state? Will the magistrate make a law that he shall not be poor or sick? Laws provide against injury from others; but not from ourselves. God himself will not save men against their wills. (From Notes on Religion, 1776. F. II., 100.)

SECESSION.—In every free and deliberating society there must from the very nature of man be opposite parties, and violent dissensions and discords; and one of those for the most part must prevail over the other for a longer or a shorter time. Perhaps this party division is necessary to induce each to watch and debate to the people the proceedings of the other. But if on a temporary superiority of one party the other is to resort to a scission of the Union, no federation can ever exist. If to rid ourselves of the present rule of Massachusetts and Connecticut we break the Union, will the evil stop there? Suppose the New England States alone cut off, will our nature be changed? Are we not men still to the south of that? And with all the passions of men? Immediately, we shall see a Pennsylvania and a Virginia party arise in the Residuary Confederacy, and the public mind will be distracted with the same

party spirit. What a game, too, will the one party have in their hands by eternally threatening the other that unless they do so and so they will join their northern neighbors. If we reduce our Union to Virginia and North Carolina, immediately the conflict will be established between the representatives and these two States, and they will end by breaking into their simple units. Seeing therefore that an association of men, who will not quarrel with one another, is a thing which never yet existed from the greatest confederacy of nations down to a town meeting or a vestry; seeing that we must have somebody to quarrel with, I had rather keep our New England associates for that purpose than to see our bickerings transferred to others. They are circumscribed within such narrow limits, and their population so full, that their numbers will ever be the minority, and they are marked, like the Jews, with such a perversity of character, as to constitute from that circumstance the natural division of our parties. A little patience and we shall see the reign of witches pass over, their spells dissolved, and the people recovering their true sight, restoring their government to its true principles. It is true that in the meantime we are suffering deeply in spirit and incurring the losses of war and long oppressions of enormous public debt. But who can say what would be the evils of a scission, and when and where they would end? Better keep together as we are, haul off from Europe as soon as we can, and from all attachments to any portion of it; and if they show their power just sufficiently to hoop us together it will be the happiest situation in which we can exist. If the game runs sometime against us at home, we must have patience till luck turns. (From a letter to John Taylor, 1798. F. VII., 264.)

Secession.—What, then, does this English faction with you mean? Their newspapers say rebellion, and that they will not remain united with us unless we will permit them to govern the majority. If that be their purpose, their anti-republican spirit, it ought to be met at once. But a government like ours should be slow in believing this, should put forth its whole might when necessary to suppress it, and promptly return to the paths of

reconciliation. The extent of our country secures it, I hope, from the vindictive passions of the petty incorporations of Greece. I rather suspect that the principal office of the other seventeen States will be to moderate and restrain the local excitement of our friends with you, when they (with the aid of their brethren of the other States, if they need it) shall have brought the rebellious to their feet. (To Elbridge Gerry, 1812. C. VI., 63.)

Secession.—Should the schism be pushed to separation, it will be for a short term only; two or three years' trial will bring them back, like quarrelling lovers, to renewed embraces, and increased affections. The experiment of separation would soon prove to both that they had mutually miscalculated their best interests. And even were the parties in Congress to secede in a passion, the soberer people would call a convention and cement against the severance attempted by the insanity of their functionaries. With this consoling view, my greatest grief would be for the fatal effect of such an event on the hopes and happiness of the world. We exist, and are quoted, as standing proofs that a government, so modelled as to rest continually on the will of the whole society, is a practicable government. Were we to break to pieces, it would damp the hopes and the efforts of the good, and give triumph to those of the bad, through the whole enslaved world. (To Richard Rush, 1820. C. VII., 182.)

Secrecy.—No ground of support of the Executive will ever be so sure as a complete knowledge of their proceedings by the people; and it is only in cases where the public good would be injured, and because it would be injured that proceedings should be secret. (From a communication to the President, 1793. F. VI., 46.)

Sedition Law.—I considered, and now consider, that law to be a nullity, as absolute and as palpable as if Congress had ordered us to fall down and worship a golden image; and that it was as much my duty to arrest its execution in every stage, as it would have been to have rescued from the fiery furnace those who should have been cast into it for refusing to wor-

ship their image. It was accordingly done, in every instance, without asking what the offenders had done, or against whom they had offended, but whether the pains they were suffering were inflicted under the pretended sedition law. (To Mrs. John Adams, 1804. F. VIII., 308.)

Sedition Law.—You seem to think it developed on the judge to decide on the validity of the sedition law. But nothing in the Constitution has given them a right to decide for the Executive, more than to the Executive to decide for them. Both magistracies are equally independent in the sphere of action assigned to them. The judges, believing the law constitutional, had a right to pass a sentence of fine and imprisonment; because the power was placed in their hands by the Constitution. But the Executive believing the law to be unconstitutional was bound to remit the execution of it; because that power has been confined to him by the Constitution. That instrument meant that its co-ordinate branches should be checks on each other. But the opinion which gives the judges the right to decide what laws are constitutional, and what not, not only for themselves in their own sphere of action, but for the Legislature and Executive also, in their spheres, would make the Judiciary a despotic branch. Nor does the opinion of the unconstitutionality, and consequent nullity of that law, which is confounding all vice and virtue, all truth and falsehood in the United States. The power to do that is fully possessed by the several State Legislatures. It was reserved to them, and was denied to the general government, by the Constitution, according to our construction of it. While we deny that Congress has a right to control the freedom of the press, we have ever asserted the right of the States, and their exclusive right, to do so. (To Mrs. John Adams, 1804. F. VIII., 311.)

Seizure.—Property wrongfully taken from a friend on a high sea is not thereby transferred to the captor. In whatever hands it is found it remains the property of those from whom it was taken; and any person possessed of it, private or public, has a right to restore it. If it comes to the hands of the Executive they may restore it. If into those of the Legislature (as by formal

payment into the Treasury) they may restore it. Whoever, private or public, undertakes to restore it, takes on themselves the risk of proving that the goods were taken without authority of the law, and consequently that the captor had no right to them. The Executive, charged with our exterior relations, seems bound, if satisfied of the fact, to do right to the foreign nation, and take on itself the risk of justification. (To Secretary of State, James Madison, 1801. F. VIII., 73.)

SELF-GOVERNMENT.—Every man and every body of men on earth possess the right of self-government. They receive it with their being from the hand of nature. Individuals exercise it by their single will; collections of men by that of their majority; for the law of the majority is the natural law of every society of men. When a certain description of men are to transact together a particular business, the times and places of their meeting and separating depend on their own will; they make a part of the natural right of self-government. This, like all other natural rights, may be abridged or modified in its exercise by their own consent, or by the law of those who depute them, and if they meet in the rights of others; but as far as it is not abridged or modified, they retain it as a natural right, and may exercise it in what form they please, either exclusively by themselves or in association with others, or by others altogether, as they shall agree. (From an opinion upon the question whether the President should veto the bill providing that the seat of government be removed to the Potomac, 1790. F. V., 205.)

SELF-GOVERNMENT.—We have the same object, the success of representative government. Nor are we acting for ourselves alone, but for the whole human race. The event of our experiment is to show whether man can be trusted with self-government. The eyes of suffering humanity are fixed on us with anxiety as their only hope, and on such a theatre for such a cause we must suppress all smaller passions and local considerations. The leaders of Federalism say that man cannot be trusted with his own government. We must do no act which shall replace them in the direction of the experiment. We must not

by any departure from principle, disgust the mass of our fellow citizens who have confided to us this interesting cause. (To Governor Hall. F. VIII., 156.)

SELF-GOVERNMENT.—In the great work which has been effected in America, no individual has a right to take any great share to himself. Our people in a body are wise, because they are under the unrestrained and unperverted operation of their own understandings. Those whom they have assigned to the direction of their affairs have stood with pretty even front. If any one of them was withdrawn, many others entirely equal, have been ready to fill his place with as good abilities. A nation, composed of such materials, and free in all its members from distressing wants, furnishes hopeful implements for the interesting experiment of self-government; and we feel that we are acting under obligations not confined to the limits of our own society. It is impossible not to be sensible that we are acting for all mankind; that circumstances denied to others, but indulged to us, have imposed on us the duty of proving what is the degree of freedom and self-government in which a society may venture to have its individual members. (To Joseph Priestly, 1802. F. VIII., 158.)

SENATE.—I think the Senate has no right to negative the grade. * * * The transaction of business with foreign nations is executive altogether. The Senate is not supposed by the Constitution to be acquainted with the concerns of the executive department. It was intended that these should be communicated to them; nor can they, therefore, be qualified to judge of the necessity which calls for a mission to any particular place, or of the particular grade, more or less marked, which special and secret circumstances may call for. All this is left to the President; they are only to see that no unfit person be employed. * * * If the Constitution had meant to give the Senate a negative on the grade or destination, as well as in the person, it would have said so in direct terms. (From an opinion on the question whether the Senate has the right to negative the grade of persons appointed by the President to fill foreign missions, 1790. F. V., 162.)

SERVICE.—Nothing could so completely divest us of liberty as the establishment of the opinion that the State has a perpetual right to the services of all its members. This to men of certain ways of thinking would be to annihilate the blessings of existence; to contradict the giver of life who gave it for happiness, not for wretchedness; and certainly to such it were better that they had never been born. (To James Monroe, 1782. F. III., 59.)

SERVICES OF JEFFERSON.—I have sometimes asked myself whether my country is the better for my having lived at all. I do not know that it is. I have been the instrument of doing the following things; but they would have been done by others, some of them perhaps a little better:

(1) The Rivanna had never been used for navigation; scarcely an empty canoe had ever passed down it. Soon after I came of age, I examined its obstructions, set on foot a subscription for removing them, got an Act of Assembly passed, and the thing effected so as to be used completely and fully for carrying down all our produce.

(2) The Declaration of Independence.

(3) I proposed the demolition of the church establishment and the freedom of religion. * * * I prepared the act for religious freedom in 1777, which was not reported to the Assembly till 1779, and that particular law not passed till 1785, and then by the efforts of Mr. Madison.

(4) The Act putting an end to entails.

(5) The Act prohibiting the importation of slaves.

(6) The Act concerning citizens and establishing the natural right of man to expatriate himself at will.

(7) The Act changing the course of descents and giving the inheritance to all the children, etc., equally, I drew.

(8) The Act for apportioning crimes and punishments, I drew.

(9) In 1789 and 1790, I had a great number of olive plants of the best kind sent from Marseilles to Charleston, for South Carolina and Georgia. They were planted, and though not yet flourishing, will be the germ of that cultivation in those states.

(10) In 1790 I got a cask of heavy upland rice from the River Denbigh in Africa, about lat, 9° 30′ north, which I sent to Charleston in hopes it might supersede the culture of the wet rice which renders South Carolina and Georgia so pestilential through the summer. * * * The greatest service which can be rendered any country is to add an useful plant to its culture; especially, a bread grain; next in value to bread oil.

(11) Whether the act for the more general diffusion of knowledge will ever be carried into complete effect, I know not, It was received by the legislature with great enthusiasm at first; and a small effort was made in 1796 by the act to establish public schools, to carry a part of it into effect, viz., that for the establishment of free English schools; but the option given to the courts has defeated the intention of the act. (Written in 1800 (?). F. VII., 476.)

SLAVERY.—The abolition of domestic slavery is the great object of desire in these colonies, where it was unhappily introduced in their infant state. But previous to the enfranchisement of the slaves we have, it is necessary to exclude all further importation from Africa; yet our repeated attempts to effect this by prohibitions, and by imposing duties which might amount to a prohibition, have hitherto been defeated by his majesty's negative; thus preferring the immediate advantages of a few British corsairs to the lasting interests of the American States, and to the rights of human nature deeply wounded by this infamous practice. (From "A Summary View," 1774. F. I., 440.)

SLAVERY.—No person hereafter coming into this country shall be held within the same under any pretext whatever. (From a proposed Constitution for Virginia, 1776. F. II., 26.)

SLAVERY.—No persons shall, henceforth, be slaves within this commonwealth, except such as were so on the first day of this present session of Assembly, and the descendants of the families of them. Negroes and mulattoes which shall hereafter be brought into this commonwealth and kept therein one whole year, together, or so long at different times as shall amount to

one year, shall be free. But if they shall not depart the commonwealth within one year they shall be out of the protection of the laws. (From a bill concerning slaves, rejected by the Assembly, 1779. F. II., 201.)

SLAVERY.—This unfortunate difference of colour, and perhaps of faculty, is a powerful obstacle to the emancipation of these people. Many of their advocates, while they wish to vindicate the liberty of human nature, are anxious also to preserve its dignity and beauty. Some of these, embarrassed by the question, "What further is to be done with them?" join themselves in opposition with those who are actuated by sordid avarice only. Among the Romans emancipation required but one effort. The slave, when made free, might mix with, without staining the blood of his master. But with us a second is necessary, unknown to history. When freed he is to be removed beyond the reach of mixture. (From "Notes on Virginia," 1782. F. III., 250.)

SLAVERY.—It is impossible to be temperate and pursue this subject through the various considerations of policy, of morals, or history, natural and civil. We must be contented to hope they will force their way into everyone's mind. I think a change already perceptible, since the origin of the present revolution. The spirit of the master is abating, that of the slave rising from the dust, his condition mollifying, the way I hope preparing under the auspices of heaven, for a total emanicipation, and that this is disposed, in the order of events, to be with the consents of the masters, rather than by their extirpation. (From "Notes on Virginia," 1782. F. III., 267.)

SLAVERY.—Indeed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just: that his justice cannot sleep forever: that considering members, nature, and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation, is among possible events; that it may become probable by supernatural interference. The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest (with slaves). (From "Notes on Virginia," 1782. F. III., 267.)

SLAVERY.—With what execrations should the statesman be

loaded, who, permitting one-half the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots, and these into enemies, destroys the morals of one part, and the *amor patriae* of the other. For if a slave can have a country in this world, it must be any other in preference to that in which he is born to live and labour for another: in which he must lock up the faculties of his nature, contribute as far as depends upon his individual endeavors to the evanishment of the human race, or entail his own miserable condition on the endless generations proceeding from him. (From "Notes on Virginia," 1782. F. III., 267.)

SLAVERY.—With the morals of a people, their industry also is destroyed. For in a warm climate, no man will labour for himself who can make another labour for him. This is so true, that of the proprietors of slaves a very small proportion indeed are ever seen to labour. (From "Notes on Virginia," 1782. F. III., 267.)

SLAVERY.—There must doubtless be an unhappy influence on the manners of our people produced by the existence of slavery among us. The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submission on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it; for man is an imitative animal. This quality is the germ of all education in him. From his cradle to his grave he is learning to do what he sees others do. If a parent could find no other motive either in his philanthropy or his self-love, for restraining the intemperance of passion towards his slave, it should always be a sufficient one that his child is present. But generally, it is not sufficient. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose to the worst of passions, and thus nursed, educated and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. (From "Notes on Virginia," 1782. F. III., 267.)

SLAVERY.—The General Assembly shall not have power to permit the introduction of any more slaves to reside in this State,

or the continuance of slavery beyond the generations which shall be living on the thirty-first day of December, one thousand, eight hundred; all persons born after that day being hereby declared free. (From a proposed Constitution for Virginia, 1783. F. III., 324.)

SLAVERY.—After the year 1800 of the Christian era, there should be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said states, otherwise than in punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been convicted to have been personally guilty. (From a clause in a report to Congress for a plan of government for western territory, 1784. F. III., 432.)*

SLAVERY.—In Maryland, I do not find such a disposition to begin a redress of this enormity (slavery) as in Virginia. This is the next State to which we may turn our eyes for the interesting spectacle of justice in conflict with avarice and oppression; a conflict wherein the sacred side is gaining daily recruits, from the influx into office of young men grown and growing up. These have sucked in the principles of liberty as it were with their mothers' milk; and it is to them I look with anxiety to turn the fate of this question. (Written from Paris to Dr. Richard Price, 1785. F. IV., 83.)

SLAVERY.—What a stupendous, what an incomprehensible machine is man! Who can endure toil, famine, stripes, imprisonment and death itself in vindication of his own liberty, and the next moment be deaf to all those motives whose power supported him through his trial, and inflict on his fellow men a bondage, one hour of which is fraught with more misery than ages of that which he rose in rebellion to oppose. But we must wait with patience the workings of an overruling providence and hope that that is preparing the deliverance of these our suffering brethren. When the measure of their tears shall be full, when their groans shall have involved heaven itself in darkness, doubtless a god of justice will awaken to their distress, and by diffusing light and liberality among their oppressors, or

*If this clause had been adopted, slavery would have been excluded from all the admitted States of the Union. It failed by one vote.

at length by his exterminating thunder, manifest his attention to the things of this world and that they are not left to the guidance of a blind fatality. (Written in Paris to M. de Meusnier, 1786. F. IV., 185.)

SLAVERY.—Sir: I am very sensible of the honor you propose to me of becoming a member of the society for the abolition of the slave trade. You know that nobody wishes more ardently to see an abolition not only of the trade but of the conditions of slavery; and certainly nobody will be more willing to encounter every sacrifice for that object. But the influence and information of the friends to this proposition in France will be far above the needs of my association. I am here as a public servant; and those whom I serve never having yet been able to give their voice against this practice, it is decent for me to avoid too public a demonstration of my wishes to see it abolished. Without serving the cause here, it might render me less able to serve it beyond the water. (To Jean Pierre Bussot, Paris, 1788. F. V., 6.)

SLAVERY.—I have long since given up the expectation of any early provision for the extinguishment of slavery among us. There are many virtuous men who would make any sacrifices to effect it, many equally virtuous who persuade themselves either that the thing is not wrong, or that it cannot be remedied, and very many with whom interest is morality. The older we grow, the larger we are disposed to believe the last party to be. But interest is really going over to the side of morality. The value of the slave is every day lessening; his burden on his master daily increasing. Interest is therefore preparing the disposition to be just; and this will be goaded from time to time by the insurrectionary spirit of the slaves. This is easily quelled in its first efforts; but from being local it will become general, and whenever it does it will rise more formidable after every defeat, until we shall be forced, after dreadful scenes and sufferings to release them in their own way, which, without such sufferings we might now model after our own convenience. (To W. A. Burwell, 1805. F. VIII., 340.)

SLAVERY.—I congratulate you, fellow-citizens, on the approach

of the period at which you may interpose your authority constitutionally, to withdraw the citizens of the United States from all further participation in those violations of human rights which have been so long continued on the unoffending inhabitants of Africa, and which the morality, the reputation, and the best interests of our country have long been eager to proscribe. (Sixth Annual Message, 1806. F. VIII., 492.)

SLAVERY.—My sentiments on the subject of slavery of negroes have long since been in the possession of the public, and time has only served to give them strong root. The love of justice and the love of country plead equally the cause of these people, and it is a moral reproach to us that they should have pleaded it so long in vain, and should have produced not a single effort, nay, I fear not much serious willingness to relieve them and ourselves from our present condition of moral and political reprobation. From those of the former generations who were in the fullness of age when I came into public life, which was while our controversy with England was on paper only, I soon saw that nothing was to be hoped. Nursed and educated in the daily habit of seeing the degraded condition, both bodily and mentally, of those unfortunate beings, not reflecting that that degradation was very much the work of themselves and their fathers, few minds have yet doubted but that they were as legitimate subjects of property as their horses and cattle. The quiet and monotonous course of colonial life has been disturbed by no alarm and little reflection on the value of liberty. And alarm was taken at an enterprise on their own, it was not easy to carry them to the whole length of the principles which they invoked for themselves. In the first or second session of the legislature after I became a member, I drew on this subject the attention of Col. Bland, one of the oldest, ablest and most respected members, and he undertook to move for certain moderate extensions of protections of the laws of these people. I seconded his motion, and as a younger member was more spared in the debate; but he was denounced as an enemy of his country and was treated with the grossest indecorum. From an early stage of our revolution other and more distant duties were

assigned to me, so that from that time till my return from Europe in 1789, and I may say till I returned to reside at home in 1809, I had little opportunity of knowing the progress of public sentiment here on this subject. I had always hoped that the younger generation receiving their early impressions after the flame of liberty had been kindled in every breast, and become as it were the vital spirit of every American, that the generous temperament of youth, analogous to the motion of their blood, and above the suggestions of avarice would have sympathized with oppression wherever found and proved their love for liberty beyond their own share of it. But my intercourse with them since my return has not been sufficient to ascertain that they had made toward this point the progress I had hoped. Your solitary but welcome voice is the first which has brought this to my ear; and I have considered the general silence which prevails on this subject as indicating an apathy unfavorable to every hope. Yet the hour of emancipation is advancing in the march of time. It will come; and whether brought on by the generous energy of our own minds, or by the bloody process of St. Domingo, excited and conducted by the power of our present enemy, if one stationed permanently within our country and offering asylums and arms to the oppressed, is a leaf of history not yet turned over. As to the method by which this difficult work is to be effected if permitted to be done by ourselves, I have seen no proposition so expedient on the whole as that of emancipation of those born after a given day, and of their education and expatriation after a given age. This would give time for a gradual extinction of that species of labor and substitution of another, and lessen the severity of the shock which an operation so fundamental cannot fail to produce. For men probably of any color, but of this color we know, brought from their infancy without necessity forethought or forecast are by their habits rendered as incapable as children of taking care of themselves, and are extinguished promptly wherever industry is necessary for raising young. In the meantime they are pests in society by their idleness and the depredations to which this leads them. Their amalgama-

tion with the other color produces a degradation to which no lover of his country, no lover of excellence in the human character can innocently consent. I am sensible of the partialities with which you have looked towards me as the person who should undertake this salutary and arduous work. But this, my dear sir, is like bidding old Priam to buckle on the armor of Hector, "*trementibus aevo humeris et inutile ferrum cingi.*" No, I have over-lived the generation with which mutual labors and perils beget mutual confidence and influence. This enterprise is for the young, for those who can follow it up and bear it through to its consummation. It shall have all my prayers, and these are the only weapons of an old man. But in the meantime are you right in abandoning this property and your country with it? I think not. My opinion has ever been that until more can be done for them we should endeavor with those whom fortune has thrown on our hands to feed and clothe them well, protect them from all ill usage, require such reasonable labor only as is performed voluntarily by freemen, and be led by no repugnancies to abdicate them and our duties to them. The laws do not permit us to turn them loose if that were for their good, and to commute them for other property is to commit them to whose usage of them we cannot control. I hope then, my dear sir, you will reconcile yourself to your country and its unfortunate condition, that you will not lessen its stock of sound disposition by withdrawing your portion from the mass. That, on the contrary, you will come forward in the public councils, become the missionary of the doctrine truly Christian, insinuate and inculcate it softly but steadily through the medium of writing and conversation, associate others in your labors, and when the phalanx is formed bring in and press the proposition perseveringly until its accomplishment. It is an encouraging observation that no good measure was ever proposed which if duly pursued failed to prevail in the end. We have proof of this in the history of the endeavors in the English parliament to suppress that very trade which brought this evil on us. And you will be supported by the religious precept "Be not weary in well doing." That your success may

be as speedy and complete as it will be of honorable and immortal consolation to yourself, I shall as fervently and sincerely pray as I assure you of my great friendship and respect. (To Edward Coles, 1814. F. IX., 477.)

Slavery.—This momentous question, like a fire-bell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror. I considered it at once as the knell of the Union. It is hushed indeed for the moment. But this is a reprieve only, not a final sentence. A geographical line, coinciding with a marked principle, moral and political, once conceived and held up to the angry passions of men, will never be obliterated; and every new irritation will mark it deeper and deeper. I can say, with conscious truth, that there is not a man on earth who would sacrifice more than I would to relieve us from this heavy reproach, in any practicable way. The cession of that kind of property, for so it is misnamed, is a bagatelle which would not cost me a second thought, if, in that way, a general emancipation and expatriation could be effected; and, gradually, and with due sacrifices, I think it might be. But as it is, we have the wolf by the ears, and we can neither hold him, nor safely let him go. Justice is in one scale, and self-preservation in the other. (To John Holmes, 1820. C. VII., 159.)

South America.—The Southern provinces, I fear, must end in military despotisms. The different castes of their inhabitants, their mutual hatreds and jealousies, their profound ignorance and bigotry will be played off by cunning leaders, and each be made the instrument of enslaving the other. But of all this, you can best judge, for in truth we have little knowledge of them to be depended on, but through you. But in whatever governments they end they will be *American* governments, no longer to be involved in the never-ceasing broils of Europe. The European nations constitute a separate division of the globe; their localities make them part of a distinct system; they have a set of interests of their own in which it is our business never to engage ourselves. America has a hemisphere to itself. It must have its separate system of interests, which must not be subordinate to those of Europe. The insulated state in which nature has placed

the American Continent, should so far avail it that no spark of war kindled in the other quarters of the globe should be wafted across the wide ocean which separates us from them, and it will be so. (To Baron de Humboldt, 1813, C. VI., 267.)

SOVEREIGNTY.—But your majesty, or your governors, have carried this power beyond every limit known, or provided for, by the laws. After dissolving one house of representatives they have refused to call another, so that for a great length of time, the legislature provided by the laws has been out of existence. From the nature of things every society must at all times possess within itself the sovereign powers of legislation. While these bodies are in existence to whom the people have delegated the powers of legislation, they alone possess and may exercise those powers; but when they are dissolved by the lopping off of one or more of their branches, the power reverts to the people, who may exercise it to unlimited extent, either assembling together in person, sending deputies, or in any other way they may think proper, and the frame of government thus dissolved, should the people take upon them to lay the throne of your government prostrate, or to discontinue their connection with the British empire, none will be so bold as to decide against the right or efficacy of such avulsion. (From "A Summary View," 1774. F. I., 443.)

SOVEREIGNTY.—That as the United States in Congress assembled represent the sovereignty of the whole Union, their body collectively and their President individually should on all occasions have precedence of all other bodies and persons. (From "Resolve on Continental Congress," 1784 (?). F. III., 464.)

SOVEREIGNTY.—It is the right of every nation to prohibit acts of sovereignty from being exercised by any other within its limits; and the duty of a neutral nation to prohibit such as would injure one of the warring powers; the granting military commissions within the United States by any other authority than their own is an infringement on their sovereignty, and particularly so when granted to their own citizens to lead them to commit an act contrary to the duties they owe their own coun-

try. (Address to the French Minister, Genet, 1792. F. VI., 283.)

SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PEOPLE.—I consider the people who constitute a society or nation as the source of all authority in that nation, as free to transact their common concerns by any agents they think proper, to change their agents individually, or the organization of them in form or function whenever they please; that all the acts done by those agents under the authority of the nation, are the acts of the nation, are obligatory upon them and enure to their use and can in no wise be annulled or affected by any change in the form of the government or of the persons administering it. Consequently, the treaties between the United States and France were not treaties between the United States and Louis Capet, but between the two nations of America and France, and the nations remaining in existence, though both of them have since changed their form of government, the treaties are not annulled by those changes. (From an opinion on French Treaties, 1793. F. VI., 220.)

SOVEREIGNTY.—The whole body of the nation is the sovereign legislature, judiciary and executive for itself. The inconvenience of meeting to exercise these powers in person, and their inaptitude to exercise them, induce them to appoint special organs to declare their legislative will, to judge and execute it. It is the will of the nation which makes the law obligatory; it is their will which creates or annihilates the organ which is to declare or announce it. They may do it by a single person, as an Emperor of Russia (constituting his declarations evidence of their will) or by a few persons, as the Aristocracy of Venice, or by a complication of councils, as in our former regal government, or our past Republican one. The law being law, because it is the will of the nation, is not changed by their changing the organ through which they choose to announce their future will; no more than the acts I have done by one attorney lose their obligations by my changing or discontinuing that attorney. (To Edmund Randolph. F. VII., 385.)

SOVEREIGNTY.—With respect to our State and Federal governments, I do not think our relations correctly understood by

foreigners. They generally suppose the former subordinate to the latter. But this is not the case. They are co-ordinate departments of one simple and integral whole. To the State governments are reserved all legislation and administration, in affairs which concern their own citizens only, and to the Federal government is given whatever concerns foreigners, or the citizens of other States; these functions alone being made Federal. The one is the domestic, the other the foreign branch of the same government; neither having control over the other, but within its own department. There are one or two exceptions only to this partition of power. But, you may ask, if the two departments should claim each the same subject of power, where is the common umpire to decide ultimately between them? In cases of little importance or urgency, the prudence of both parties will keep them aloof from the questionable ground; but if it can neither be avoided nor compromised, a convention of the States must be called, to ascribe the doubtful power to that department which they may think best. You will perceive by these details, that we have not yet so far perfected our constitutions as to venture to make them unchangeable. But still, in their present state, we consider them not otherwise changeable than by the authority of the people on a special election of representatives for that purpose expressly; they are until then the *lex legum*. (To John Cartwright, 1824. C. VII., 358.)

SPAIN.—Our relations with Spain are vitally interesting. That they should be of a peaceable and friendly character has been our most earnest desire. Had Spain met us with the same disposition, our idea was that her existence in this hemisphere and ours, should have rested on the same bottom; should have sunk or swum together. We want nothing of hers, and we want no other nation to possess what is hers. But she has met our advances with jealousy, secret malice and ill-faith. Our patience under this unworthy return of disposition is now on its last trial. And the issue of what is now depending between us will decide whether our relations with her are to be sincerely friendly, or permanently hostile. I still wish and

would cherish the former, but have ceased to expect it. (To U. S. Minister to Spain, 1805. F. VIII., 351.)

SPAIN.—Nature has formed that peninsula to be the second, and why not the first nation in Europe? Give equal habits of energy to bodies, and of science to the minds of her citizens, and where could her superior be found? The most advantageous relation in which she can stand with her American colonies is that of independent friendship, secured by the ties of consanguinity, sameness of language, religion, manners, and habits, and certain from the influences of these, of a preference in her commerce, if, instead of the eternal irritations, thwartings, machinations against their new governments, the insults and aggressions which Great Britain has so unwisely practiced towards us, to force us to hate her against our natural inclinations, Spain yields, like a genuine parent, to the forisfamiliation of her colonies, now at maturity, if she extends to them her affections, her aid, her patronage in every court and country, it will weave a bond of union indissoluble by time. (To Valentine de Toronda Corena, 1813. C. VI., 274.)

SPAIN.—If the mother country has not the magnanimity to part with the colonies in friendship, thereby making them, what they would certainly be, her natural and firmest allies, these will emancipate themselves, after exhausting her strength and resources in ineffectual efforts to hold them in subjection. They will be rendered enemies of the mother country, as England has rendered us by an unremitting course of insulting injuries and silly provocations. I do not say this from the impulse of national interest, for I do not know that the United States would find an interest in the independence of neighbor nations, whose produce and commerce would rivalize ours. It could only be that link of interest which every human being has in the happiness and prosperity of every other. But putting right and reason out of the question, I have no doubt that on calculations of interest alone, it is that of Spain to anticipate voluntarily, and as a matter of grace, the independence of her colonies, which otherwise necessity will enforce. (To Chevalier de Onis, 1814. C. VI., 342.)

SPAIN.—So long as her colonies are dependent, Spain, from her jealousy, is our natural enemy, and always in either open or secret hostility with us. These countries, too, in war will be a powerful weight in her scale, and, in peace, totally shut to us. Interest, then, on the whole, would wish their independence, and justice makes the wish a duty. They have a right to be free, and we have a right to aid them, as a strong man has a right to assist a weak one assailed by a robber or a murderer. That a war is brewing between us and Spain cannot be doubted. When that disposition is matured on both sides, and your rupture can no longer be deferred, then will be the time for our joining the South Americans, and entering into treaties of alliance with them. There will then be but one opinion at home or abroad, that we shall be justifiable in choosing to have them with us, rather than against us. In the meantime, they will have organized regular governments, and perhaps have formed themselves into one or more confederacies; more than one, I hope, as in single mass they would be a very formidable neighbor. (To James Monroe. 1816. C. VI., 550.)

SPIRIT OF THE LAW.—Substance not circumstance is to be regarded while we have so many foes in our bowels and environing us on every side. He is a bad citizen who can entertain a doubt whether the law will justify him in saving his country or who will scruple to risk himself in support of the spirit of the law where avoidable accidents have prevented a literal compliance with it. (From a circular letter addressed to county magistrates during an invasion of Virginia, 1781. F. II., 431.)

STATE GOVERNMENT.—But the true barriers of our liberty in this country are our State Governments, and the wisest conservative power ever contrived by man is that of which our Revolution and present government found us possessed. Seventeen distinct States, amalgamated into one as to their foreign concerns, but single and independent as to their internal administrations, regularly organized with a Legislature and Governor resting on the choice of the people, and enlightened by a free

press, can never be so fascinated by the arts of one man as to submit voluntarily to his usurpation. Nor can they be constrained to it by any force he can possess. While that may paralyze the single State in which it happens to be encamped, sixteen others, spread over a country of two thousand miles diameter, rise up on every side, ready organized for deliberation by a constitutional Legislature, and for action by their Governor, constitutionally the commander of the militia of the State, that is to say, of every man in it able to bear arms; and that militia, too, regularly formed into regiments and battalions, into infantry, cavalry and artillery, trained under officers general and subordinate, legally appointed, always in readiness, and to whom they are already in habits of obedience. The Republican government of France was lost without a struggle, because the party of *"un et indivisible"* had prevailed; no provincial organizations existed to which the people might rally under authority of the laws, the seats of the directory were virtually vacant, and a small force sufficed to turn the Legislature out of their chambers, and to salute its leader chief of the nation. But with us, sixteen out of seventeen States rising in mass, under regular organization, and legal commanders, united in object and action by their Congress, or, if that be in *duresse,* by a special convention, present such obstacles to an usurper as forever to stifle ambition in the just conception of that object.

Dangers of another kind might more reasonably be apprehended from this perfect and distinct organization, civil and military, of the States, to wit, that certain States from local and occasional discontents, might attempt to secede from the Union. This is certainly possible, and would be befriended by this regular organization. But it is not probable that local discontents can spread to such an extent, as to be able to face the sound parts of so extensive an Union; and if ever they should reach the majority, they would then become the regular government, acquire the ascendency in Congress, and be able to redress their own grievances, by laws peaceably and constitutionally passed. And even the States in which local discontents might engender a commencement of fermentation would be

paralyzed and self-checked by that very division into parties into which we have fallen, into which all States must fall, according to the diversities of their individual conformations, and which are, perhaps, essential to preserve the purity of the government, by the censorship which these parties habitually exercise over each other. (To Destutt Tracy, 1811. C. V., 570.)

STATES.—With respect to the Ultramontane States, will their inhabitants be happiest divided into States of 30,000 square miles, not quite as large as Pennsylvania, or into States of 160,000 square miles each, that is to say, three times as large as Virginia within the Allegheny? They will not only be happier in States of a moderate size, but it is the only way they can exist as a regular society. Considering the American character in general, that of those people in particular, and the energetic nature of our governments, a State of such extent as 160,000 square miles would soon crumble into pieces. (Written from Paris to James Monroe. F. IV., 247.)

STATE'S RIGHTS.—I wish to preserve the line drawn by the Federal Constitution between the general and particular governments as it stands at present, and to take every prudent means of preventing either from stepping over it. * * * It is easy to foresee from the nature of things that the encroachments of the State government will tend to an excess of liberty which will correct itself, while those of the general government will tend to monarchy, which will fortify itself from day to day, instead of working its own cure, as all experience shows. I would rather be exposed to the inconveniences attending too much liberty than those attending too small a degree of it. (To Archibald Stuart, 1791. F. V., 409.)

STATE'S RIGHTS.—I do not think it for the interest of the general government itself and still less for the Union at large, that the State governments should be so little respected as they have been. However, I dare say that in time all these as well as their central government, like the planets revolving around their common sun, acted and acting upon according to their respective weights and distances, will produce that beautiful

equilibrium on which our Constitution is founded and which I believe it will exhibit to the world in a degree of perfection, unexampled but in the planetary system itself. The enlightened statesman, therefore, will endeavor to preserve the weight and influence of every part, as too much given to any member of it would destroy the general equilibrium. (To Peregrine Fitzhugh, 1798. F. VII., 210.)

STATE'S RIGHTS.—It is of immense consequence that the States retain as complete authority as possible over their own citizens. The withdrawing themselves under a foreign jurisdiction is so subversive of order and so pregnant of abuse that it may not be amiss to consider how far a law of praemunire should be revived and modified against citizens who attempt to carry their causes before any other than the State courts in cases where those other courts have no right to their cognizance. A plea to the jurisdiction of the courts of their State, or a reclamation of a foreign jurisdiction, if adjudged valid, would be safe; but if adjudged invalid would be followed by the punishment of praemunire for the attempt. (To James Monroe, 1797. F. VII., 173.)

STATE'S RIGHTS.—We are willing to sacrifice to the Union and the Constitution everything but the rights of self-government in those important points which we have never yielded, and in which alone we see liberty, safety and happiness; we are not at all disposed to make every measure of error or of wrong, a cause of scission; we are willing to look on with indulgence and wait with patience till those passions and delusions shall have passed over, which the Federal Government have artfully excited to cover its own abuses and conceal its designs, fully confident that the good sense of the American people and their attachment to those very rights, which we are now vindicating, will, before it shall be too late, rally with us around the true principles of our Federal compact. (To W. C. Nicholas, 1799. F. VII., 390.)

STATE'S RIGHTS.—Our country is too large to have all its affairs directed by a single government. Public service at such a distance, and from under the eye of their constituents, must,

from the circumstance of distance, be unable to administer and overlook all the details necessary for the good government of the citizens and the same circumstance, by rendering detection impossible to their constituents, will invite the public agents to corruption, plunder and waste. And I do verily believe that if the principle were to prevail of a common law being in force in the United States (which principle possesses the general government at once of all the powers of the State governments) it would become the most corrupt government on the earth. * * * What an augmentation of the field, for jobbing, speculating, plundering, office-building and office-hunting would be produced by an assumption of all the State powers into the hand of the general government! The true theory of our Constitution is surely the wisest and best, that the States are independent as to everything within themselves and united as to everything respecting foreign nations. Let the general government be reduced to foreign concerns only, and let our affairs be disentangled from those of all other nations, except as to commerce, which the merchants will manage, the better the more they are left free to manage for themselves, and the general government may be reduced to a very simple organization and a very inexpensive one. (To Gideon Granger, 1800. F. VII., 451.)

STATUES.—A statue is not made, like a mountain, to be seen at a great distance. To perceive those minuter circumstances which constitute its beauty you must be near it, and, in that case, it should be so little above the size of the life as to appear actually of that size from your point of view. (Written from Paris to the Virginia delegates in Congress, 1784. F. IV., 74.)

SUBPOENAS.—I did not see till last night the opinion of the judge on the *subpoena duces tecum* against the President. Considering the question there as *coram non judice*, I did not read his argument with much attention. Yet I saw readily enough, that, as is usual where an opinion is to be supported, right or wrong, he dwells much on smaller objections, and passes over those which are solid. Laying down the position generally, that all persons owe obedience to subpoenas, he

admits no exception unless it can be produced in his law books. But if the Constitution enjoins on a particular officer to be always engaged in a particular set of duties imposed on him, does not this supersede the general law, subjecting him to minor duties inconsistent with these? The Constitution enjoins his constant agency in the concerns of six million people. Is the law paramount to this, which calls on him in behalf of a single one? Let us apply the Judge's own doctrine to the case of himself and his brethren. The sheriff of Henrico summons him from the bench, to quell a riot somewhere in his county. The Federal Judge is, by the general law, a part of the posse of the State sheriff. Would the Judge abandon major duties to perform lesser ones? Again: the court of Orleans or Maine commands, by subpoenas, the attendance of all the Judges of the Supreme Court. Would they abandon their posts as Judges, and the interests of millions committed to them, to serve the purposes of a single individual? The leading principle of our Constitution is the independence of the legislature, executive and judiciary of each other, and none are more jealous of this than the judiciary. But would the executive be independent of the judiciary, if he were subject to the commands of the latter, and to imprisonment for disobedience; if the several courts could bandy him from pillar to post, keep him constantly trudging from north to south and east to west, and withdraw him entirely from his constitutional duties? The intention of the Constitution, that each branch should be independent of the others is further manifested by the means it has furnished to each, to protect itself from enterprises of force attempted on them by the others, and to none has it given more effectual or diversified means than to the executive. (To George Hay, 1807. C. V., 103.)

SUFFRAGE.—All male persons of full age and sane mind having a freehold estate in one-fourth of an acre of land in any town, or in territory five acres of land in the country and all persons resident in the colony who shall have paid scot and lot (taxes) to the government shall have right to give their vote in the election of their respective representatives. And every person

so qualified to elect shall be capable of being elected, provided he shall have given no bribe either directly or indirectly to any elector. (From a proposed Constitution for Virginia, 1776. F. II., 14.)

SUFFRAGE.—The majority of men in the State (Virginia) who pay and fight for its support, are unrepresented in the Legislature, the roll of freeholders entitled to vote not including generally the half of those on the roll of the militia. (From "Notes on Virginia," 1782. F. III., 222.)

SUFFRAGE.—When the Constitution of Virginia was formed I was in attendance at Congress. Had I been here I should probably have proposed a general suffrage; because my opinion has always been in favor of it. Still I find very honest men, who thinking the possession of some property necessary to give due independence of mind are for restraining the elective franchise to property. I believe we may lessen the danger of buying and selling votes by making the number of voters too great for any means of purchase. I may further say that I have not observed men's honesty to increase with their riches. (To Jeremiah Moor, 1800. F. VII., 454.)

SUFFRAGE.—However nature may by mental or physical disqualifications have marked infants and the weaker sex for the protection rather than the direction of government, yet among the men who either pay or fight for their country, no line of right can be drawn. The exclusion of a majority of our freemen from the right of representation is merely arbitrary, and an usurpation of the minority over the majority; for it is believed that the non-freeholders compose the majority of our free and adult male citizens. (To J. H. Pleasants, 1824. C. VII., 345.)

SUPREME COURT.—At length, then, we have a chance of getting a Republican (Democratic) majority in the Supreme Judiciary. For ten years has that branch braved the spirit and will of the nation after the nation had manifested its will by a complete reform in every branch depending on them. The event is a fortunate one and so timed as to be a God-send to me. I am sure its importance to the nation will be felt, and

the occasion employed to complete the great operation they have so long been executing by the appointment of a decided Republican with nothing equivocal about him. (To Albert Gallatin, 1810. C. V., 549.)

SUPREME COURT.—It has long been my opinion, and I have never shrunk from its expression (although I do not choose to put it into a newspaper, nor like a Priam in armor, offer myself its champion) that the germ of dissolution of our Federal Government is in the Constitution of the Federal Judiciary, an irrepressible body (for impeachment is scarcely a scare crow) working like gravity by night and day, gaining a little to-day and a little to-morrow, and advancing its noiseless steps like a thief over the field of jurisdiction until all shall be usurped from the States and the government of all be consolidated into one. To this I am opposed, because when all government, domestic and foreign, in little as in great things, shall be drawn to Washington as the centre of all power, it will render powerless the checks provided of one government on another and will become as venal and oppressive as the government from which it separated. It will be as in Europe, where every man must be pike or gudgeon, hammer or anvil. Our functionaries and theirs are wares from the same workshop; made of the same material and by the same hand. If the States look with apathy on this silent descent of their government into the gulf which is to swallow all, we have only to weep over the human character found uncontrollable but by a rod of iron and the blasphemers of man as incapable of self-government become his true historians. (To Mr. C. H. Hammond, 1821. C. VII., 216.)

SUPREME COURT.—There is no danger I apprehend so much as the consolidation of our government by the noiseless and therefore unalarming instrumentality of the Supreme court. This is the form in which Federalism now arrays itself and consolidation is the present principle of distinction between Republicans and pseudo-Republicans, but real Federalists. I must comfort myself with the hope that the judges will see the importance and the duty of giving their country the only evi-

dence they can give of fidelity to its Constitution and integrity in the administration of its laws, that is to say, by every one's giving his opinion seriatim and publicly on the case he decides. Let him prove by his reasoning that he has read the papers, that he has considered the case, that in the application of the laws to it he uses his own judgment independently and unbiased by party views and personal favor or disfavor. Throw himself in every case on God and his country; both will excuse his error and value him for his loyalty. The very idea of cooking up opinions in conclave begets suspicions that something passes which fears the public ear and spreading by degrees must produce at some time abridgment of tenure, facility of removal, or some modification which may promise a remedy. For in truth there is at this time more hostility to the Federal Judiciary than to any other organ of the government. (To Judge Johnson, 1823. C. VII., 278.)

SUPREME COURT.—See Judiciary, Federal.

TALENT.—Men possessing minds of the first order, who have had opportunities of being known and acquiring the general confidence, do not abound in any country beyond the wants of the country. (To Robert Livingston, 1801. F. VII., 492.)

TAXATION.—It is neither our wish nor our interest to separate from her (Great Britain). We are willing, on our part, to sacrifice everything which reason can ask to the restoration of that tranquillity for which all must wish. On their part, let them be ready to establish union on a generous plan. Let them name their terms, but let them be just. Accept of every commercial preference it is in our power to give for such things as we can raise for their use, or they make for ours. But let them not think to exclude us from going to other markets to dispose of those commodities which they cannot use, or to supply those wants which they cannot supply. Still less let it be proposed that our properties within our own territories shall be taxed or regulated by any power on earth but our own. (From "A Summary View," 1774. F. I., 447.)

TAXATION.—But would it not be better to simplify the system of taxation rather than to spread it over such a variety

of subjects, and pass the money through so many hands? Taxes should be proportioned to what may be annually spared by the individual. * * * The simplest system of taxation yet adopted is that of levying on the land and the laborer. But it would be better to levy the same sums on the produce of that labor when collected in the barn of the farmer; because then if through the badness of the year he made little, he would pay little. It would be better yet to levy it not in his hands, but in those of the merchant purchaser; because though the farmer would in fact pay it, as the merchant purchaser would deduct it from the original price of his produce, yet the farmer would not be sensible that he paid it. (Written from Paris to James Madison, 1784. F. IV., 16.)

TAXATION.—A proposition has been made to Congress to begin sinking the public debt by a tax on pleasure horses; that is to say, on all horses not employed for the dray, draught or farm. It is said there is not a horse of that description eastward of New York. And as to call this a direct tax would oblige them to proportion it among the States according to the census, they choose to class it among the indirect taxes. (To George Gilmer, 1792. F. VI., 146.) * * * It is uncertain what will be its fate. Besides its partiality, it is infinitely objectionable as foisting in a direct tax under the name of an indirect one. (To T. M. Randolph, 1792. F. VI., 149.)

TAXATION.—I am conscious that an equal division of property is impracticable. But the consequences of enormous inequality producing so much misery to the bulk of mankind, legislators cannot invent too many devices for subdividing property, only taking care to let their subdivisions go hand in hand with the natural affections of the human mind. The descent of property of every kind therefore to all the children, or to all the brothers and sisters, or other relations in equal degree is a politic measure, and a practicable one. Another means of silently lessening the inequality of property is to exempt all from taxation below a certain point and to tax the higher portions of property in geometrical progression as they rise. (To Rev. James Madison, 1795. F. VII., 35.)

TAXATION.—We are all the more reconciled to the tax on importations, because it falls exclusively on the rich, and with the equal partition of intestates' estates, constitute the best agrarian law. In fact, the poor man in this country who uses nothing but what is made within his own farm or family, or within the United States, pays not a farthing of tax to the general government, but on his salt; and should we go into that manufacture as we ought to do, we will not pay one cent. Our revenues once liberated by the discharge of the public debt, and its surplus applied to canals, roads, schools, etc., and the farmer will see his government supported, his children educated, and the face of his country made a paradise by the contributions of the rich alone, without his being called on to spare a cent from his earnings. The path we are now pursuing leads directly to this end, which we cannot fail to attain unless our administration should fall into unwise hands. (To Dupont de Nemours, 1811. C. V., 584.)

TAXATION.—When once a government has assumed its basis, to select and tax special articles from either of the other classes, is double taxation. For example, if the system be established on the basis of income, and its just proportion on that scale has been already drawn from every one, to step into the field of consumption, and tax special articles in that, as broadcloth or homespun, wine or whisky, a coach or a wagon, is doubly taxing the same article. For that portion of income tax, with which these articles are purchased, having already paid its tax as income, to pay another tax on the thing it purchased is paying twice for the same thing, it is an aggrievance on the citizens who use these articles in exoneration of those who do not, contrary to the most sacred of the duties of a government, to do equal and impartial justice to all its citizens. * * * Whether property alone, and the whole of what each citizen possesses, shall be subject to contribution, or only its surplus after satisfying his first wants, or whether the faculties of the body and mind shall contribute also from their annual earnings, is a question to be decided. But, when decided, and the principle settled, it is to be equally and fairly applied to all. To

take from one, because it is thought that his own industry and that of his father's has acquired too much, in order to spare to others, who, or whose fathers, have not exercised equal industry and skill, is to violate arbitrarily the first principle of association, "the guarantee to every one of a free exercise of his industry, and the fruits acquired by it." If the overgrown wealth of an individual be deemed dangerous to the State, the best corrective is the law of equal inheritance to all in equal degree; and the better, as this enforces a law of nature, while extra-taxation violates it. (To Joseph Milligan, 1816. C. VI., 574.)

Taxation.—I rejoice, as a moralist, at the prospect of a reduction of the duties on wine, by our National Legislature. It is an error to view a tax on that liquor as merely a tax on the rich. It is a prohibition of its use to the middling class of our citizens, and a condemnation of them to the poison of whisky, which is desolating their houses. No nation is drunken where wine is cheap, and none sober where the dearness of wine substitutes ardent spirits as the common beverage. It is, in truth, the only antidote to the bane of whisky. Fix but the duty at the rate of other merchandise, and we can drink wine here as cheap as we do grog; and who will not prefer it? Its extended use will carry health and comfort to a much enlarged circle. Every one in easy circumstances (as the bulk of our citizens are) will prefer it to the poison to which they are now driven by their government. And the treasury itself will find that a penny a piece from a dozen, is more than a groat from a single one. (To M. de Neuville, 1818. C. VII., 110.)

Tenure of Office.—This is a sample of the effects we may expect from the late mischievous law vacating every four years nearly all the executive offices of the government. It saps the constitutional and salutary functions of the President, and introduces a principle of intrigue and corruption which will soon leaven the mass not only of Senators but of citizens. It is more baneful than the attempt which failed at the beginning of the government to make all officers irremovable but with the consent of the Senate. This places every four years all appointments under their power and even obliges them to act on every

one nomination. It will keep in constant excitement all the hungry cormorants for office, render them as well as these in place sycophants to their Senators, engage these in eternal intrigue, to turn out one and put in another in cabals to swap with, and make of them what all executive directories become, mere sinks of corruption and faction. (To James Madison, 1820. C. VII., 190.)

Titles.—In America no other distinction between man and man had ever been known, but that of persons in office exercising powers by authority of the laws, and private individuals. Among these last the poorest laborer stood on equal ground with the wealthiest millionaire, and generally on a more favored one whenever their rights seem to jar. Of distinction by birth or badge they had no more idea than they had of the mode of existence in the moon or planets. They had heard only that there were such, and they knew that they must be wrong. A due horror of the evils which flow from these distinctions could be excited in Europe only, where the human species is classed into several stages of degradation, where the many are crushed under the weight of the few, and where the order established can present to the contemplation of a thinking being no other picture than that of God Almighty and His angels trampling under foot the hosts of the damned. (From reflections on the order of the Cincinnati, 1786. F. IV., 175.)

Titles.—The new Government (of the United States) has ushered itself to the world as honest, masculine, and dignified. It has shown genuine dignity, in my opinion, in exploding adulatory titles; they are the offerings of abject baseness, and nourish that degrading vice in the people. (Written from Paris to James Madison, 1789. F. V., 112.)

Tobacco.—It (tobacco) is a culture of infinite wretchedness. Those employed in it are in a continual state of exertion beyond the power of nature to support. Little food of any kind is raised by them; so that the men and animals on these farms are illy fed, and the earth is rapidly impoverished. The cultivation of wheat is the reverse in every circumstance. Besides clothing the earth with herbage and preserving its fertility, it

feeds the laborers plentifully, requires from them only a moderate toil, except in the season of the harvest, raises great numbers of animals for food and service, and diffuses plenty and happiness among the whole. (From "Notes on Virginia," 1782. F. III., 271.)

TOLERATION.—How far does the duty of toleration extend? First, no church is bound by the duty of toleration to retain within her bosom obstinate offenders against her laws. Second, we have no right to prejudice another in his civil enjoyments because he is of another church. If any man err from the right way, it is his own misfortune, no injury to thee; nor therefore art thou to punish him in the things of this life because thou supposeth he will be miserable in that which is to come. (From "Notes on Religion," 1776. F. II., 99.)

TORIES.—A Tory has been properly defined to be a traitor in thought, but not in deed. The only description by which laws have endeavored to come at them, was that of non-jurors, or persons refusing to take the oath of fidelity to the State. * * * It may be mentioned as a proof both of the lenity of our government, that though the war has now raged near seven years not a single execution for treason has taken place. (From "Notes on Virginia," 1782. F. III., 260.)

TOWNSHIPS.—No, my friend, the way to have good and safe government is not to trust it all to one, but to divide it among the many, distributing to every one exactly the functions he is competent to. Let the National Government be entrusted with the defense of the Nation and its foreign and Federal relation; the State Governments with the civil rights, laws, police and administration of what concerns the State generally; the Counties with the local concerns of the Counties, and each ward (township) direct the interests within itself. It is by dividing and subdividing these republics from the great national one down through all its subordinations until it ends in the administration of every man's farm by himself; by placing under every one what his own eye may superintend, that all will be done for the best. What has destroyed liberty and the rights of man in every government which has ever existed under the sun?

The generalizing and concentrating all cares and powers into one body, no matter whether of the autocrats of Russia or France or of the aristocrats of a Venetian Senate. I do believe that if the Almighty had not decreed that man shall never be free (and it is a blasphemy to believe it) that the secret will be found to be in the making himself the depository of the powers respecting himself, so far as he is competent to them, and delegating only what is beyond his competence by a synthetical process to higher and higher orders of functionaries so as to trust fewer and fewer powers in proportion as the trustees become more and more oligarchical. The elementary republics of the wards, the County republics, the State republics and the republics of the Union would form a gradation of authorities standing each on the basis of law, holding every one its delegated share of powers, and constituting truly a system of fundamental balances and checks for the government. Where every man is a sharer in the direction of his ward republic or of some of the higher ones, and feels that he is a participator in the government of affairs, not merely at an election one day in the year, but every day; when there shall not be a man in the State who will not be a member of some one of its councils, great or small, he will let the heart be torn out of his body sooner than his power be wrested from him by a Caesar or Bonaparte. How powerfully did we feel the energy of this organization in the case of the embargo? I felt the foundations of the government shaken under my feet by the New England townships. There was not an individual in their States whose body was not thrown with all its momentum into action; and although the whole of the other States were known to be in favor of the measure, yet the organization of this little selfish minority enabled it to overrule the Union. What would the unwieldly Counties of the middle, the south, and the west do? Call a County meeting and the drunken loungers at and about the court houses would have collected, the distances being too great for the good people and the industrious generally to attend. The character of those who really met would have been the measure of the weight they would have had in the scale of

public opinion. As Cato, then, concluded every speech with the words, *"Carthago delenda est,"* so do I every opinion with the words, "Divide the Counties into wards." Begin then only for a single purpose; they will soon show for what others they are the best instruments. (To Jos. C. Cabell, 1816. C. VI., 543.)

TOWNSHIPS.—The article nearest my heart is the division of Counties into wards (townships). These will be pure and elementary republics, compose the State, and will make of the whole a true Democracy as to the business of the wards, which is that of nearest and daily concern. The affairs of the larger sections, of Counties, of States, and of the Union, not admitting personal transaction by the people, will be delegated to agents elected by themselves; and representation will thus be substituted, where personal action becomes impracticable. Yet, even over these representative organs, should they become corrupt and perverted, the division into wards, a regularly organized power, enables them by that organization to crush, regularly and peaceably, the usurpations of their unfaithful agents, and rescues them from the dreadful necessity of doing it insurrectionally. In this way we shall be as republican as a large society can be; and secure the continuance of purity in our government, by the salutary, peaceable, and regular control of the people. (To Samuel Kercheval, 1816. C. VII., 35.)

TOWNSHIPS.—Divide the Counties into wards of such size as that every citizen can attend, when called on, and act in person. Ascribe to them the government of their wards in all things relating to themselves exclusively. A justice, chosen by themselves, in each, a constable, a military company, a patrol, a school, the care of their own poor, their own portion of the public roads, the choice of one or more jurors to serve in some court, and the delivery, within their wards, of their own votes for all elective officers of higher sphere, will relieve the County administration of nearly all its business, will have it better done, and by making every citizen an acting member of the government, and in the offices nearest and most interesting to him, will attach him by his strongest feelings to the independence

of his country, and its republican constitution. The justices thus chosen by every ward, would constitute the County court, would do its judiciary business, direct roads, and bridges, levy County and poor rates, and administer all the matters of common interest to the whole country. These wards, called townships in New England, are the vital principle of their governments, and have proved themselves the wisest invention ever devised by the wit of man for the perfect exercise of self-government and for its preservation. We should thus marshal our government into, 1, the general Federal republic, for all concerns foreign and Federal; 2, that of the State, for what relates to our own citizens exclusively; 3, the County republics, for the duties and concerns of the County; and, 4, the ward republics, for the small, and yet numerous and interesting concerns of the neighborhood; and in government, as well as in every other business of life, it is by division of duties alone that all matters, great and small, can be managed to perfection. And the whole is cemented by giving to every citizen, personally, a part in the administration of the public affairs. (To Samuel Kercheval, 1816. C. VII., 12.)

Townships.—Among other improvements, I hope they will adopt the subdivision of our Counties into wards. The former may be estimated at an average of twenty-four miles square; the latter should be about six miles square each, and would answer to the hundreds of your Saxon Alfred. In each of these might be, 1st, An elementary school; 2d, A company of militia, with its officers; 3d, A justice of the peace and constable; 4th, Each ward should take care of their own poor; 5th, Their own roads; 6th, Their own police; 7th, Elect within themselves one or more jurors to attend the courts of justice; and, 8th, Give in at their Folk-house their votes for all functionaries reserved to their election. Each ward should thus be a small republic within itself, and every man in the State would thus become an acting member of the common government, transacting in person a great portion of its rights and duties, subordinate indeed, yet important, and entirely within his competence. The wit of man cannot devise a more solid basis for a free, durable

and well-administered republic. (To John Cartwright, 1824. C. VII., 357.)

Travel.—Traveling makes men wiser, but less happy. When men of sober age travel, they gather knowledge which they may apply usefully for their country, but they are subject ever after to recollections mixed with regret, their affections are weakened by being extended over more objects, and they learn new habits which cannot be gratified when they return home. (To Peter Carr, written in Paris, 1787. F. IV., 433.)

Treason.—Most codes do not distinguish between acts against the government and acts against the oppression of the government. The latter are virtues; yet have furnished more victims to the executioner than the former. The unsuccessful struggles against tyranny have been the chief martyrs against treason laws in all countries. We should not wish them to give up to the executioner the patriot who fails and flees to us. (From a report on Convention with Spain, 1792. F. V., 483.)

Treaties.—We conceive the constitutional doctrine to be that though the President and the Senate have the general power of making treaties, yet whenever they include in a treaty matters confided by the Constitution to the three branches of Legislature, an act of Legislature will be requisite to confirm these articles, and that of the House of Representatives as one branch of the Legislature are perfectly free to pass the act or refuse it, governing themselves by their own judgment whether it is for the good of their constituents to let the treaty go into effect or not. (To James Monroe, 1795. F. VII., 67.)

Treaties.—With respect to a commercial treaty with this country, be assured that the government not only has it not in contemplation at present to make any, but that they do not conceive that any circumstances will arise which shall render it expedient for them to have any political connection with us. They think we shall be glad of their commerce on their own terms. There is no party in our favor here, either in power or out of power. Even the opposition concurs with the ministry and the nation in this. (To R. H. Lee, written in London, 1786. F. IV., 206.)

TREATIES.—Randolph seems to have hit upon the true theory of our Constitution, that when a treaty is made, involving matters confided by the Constitution to the three branches of the Legislature conjointly, the Representatives are as free as the President and Senate were to consider whether the national interest requires or forbids their giving the forms and force of law to the articles over which they have a power. (To William Giles, 1795. F. VII., 41.)

TREATIES.—We cannot too distinctly detach ourselves from the European system, which is essentially belligerent, nor too sedulously cultivate an American system, essentially pacific. But if we go into commercial treaties at all, they should be with all, at the same time, with whom we have important commercial relations. France, Spain, Portugal, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Russia, all should proceed *pari passu.* Our ministers marching in phalanx on the same line, and intercommunicating freely, each will be supported by the weight of the whole mass, and the facility with which the other nations will agree to equal terms of intercourse, will discountenance the selfish higglings of England, or justify our rejection of them. Perhaps, with all of them, it would be best to have but the single article *gentis amicissimae,* leaving everything else to the usages and courtesies of civilized nations. (To James Madison, 1814. C. VI., 453.)

TRUTH.—Truth will do well enough if left to shift for herself. She seldom has received much aid from the power of great men to whom she is rarely known and seldom welcome. She has no need of force to procure entrance into the minds of men. Error indeed has often prevailed by the assistance of power or force. Truth is the proper and sufficient antagonist to error. (From "Notes on Religion," 1776. F. II., 102

TRUTH.—Truth is great and will prevail if left to herself; she is the proper and sufficient antagonist to error, and has nothing to fear from the conflict unless by human interposition disarmed of her natural weapons—free argument and debate; error ceasing to be dangerous when it is permitted freely to contra-

dict them. (From a bill for establishing religious freedom, 1779. F. II., 239.)

TRUTH.—Teach her (Martha's sister) to be always true; no vice is so mean as the want of truth, as at the same time so useless. Teach her above all things to be good, because without that we can neither be valued by others nor set any value upon ourselves. If ever you find yourself in difficulty, and doubt how to extricate yourself, do what is right, and you will find it is the easiest way of getting out of a difficulty. (To Martha Jefferson, 1787. F. IV., 375.)

TYRANNY.—Human nature is the same on every side of the Atlantic, and will be alike influenced by the same causes. The time to guard against corruption and tyranny is before they have gotten hold of us. It is better to keep the wolf out of the fold than to trust to drawing his teeth and talons after he shall have entered. (From "Notes on Virginia," 1782. F. III., 225.)

TYRANNY OF MAN.—I am convinced that those societies (as the Indians) which have been without government enjoy in their general mass an infinitely greater degree of happiness than those who live under the European Governments. Among the former, public opinion is in the place of law, and restrains morals as powerfully as laws ever did anywhere. Among the latter, under the pretence of governing, they have divided their nations into two classes, wolves and sheep. I do not exaggerate. This is a true picture of Europe. Cherish therefore the spirit of our people and keep alive their attention. Do not be too severe upon their errors, but reclaim them by enlightening them. If once they become inattentive to the public affairs, you and I and Congress and Assemblies, judges and governors shall all become wolves. It seems to me the law of our general nature, in spite of individual exceptions, and experience declares that man is the only animal which devours his own kind, for I can apply no milder term to the governments of Europe, and to the general prey of the rich or the poor. (To Edward Carrington, written in Paris, 1787. F. IV., 360.)

UNIFORMITY.—Truth can stand by itself. Subject opinion to

coercion: whom will you make your inquisitors? Fallible men; men governed by bad passions, by private as well as public reasons. And why subject it to coercion? To produce uniformity. But is uniformity of opinion desirable? No more than of face and stature. * * * Difference in opinion is advantageous in religion. The several sects perform the office of a censor over each other. Is uniformity attainable? Millions of innocent men, women and children, since the introduction of Christianity have been burnt, tortured, fined, imprisoned; yet we have not advanced one inch towards uniformity. (From "Notes on Virginia," 1782. F. III., 265.)

UNION.—We are now represented in General Congress by members approved by this House where the former union, it is hoped, will be so strongly cemented that no partial applications can produce the slightest departure from the common cause. We consider ourselves as bound in honor, as well as interest, to share one general fate with our sister colonies; and should hold ourselves base deserters of that union to which we have acceded, were we to agree on any measure distinct and apart from them. (From an address to Governor Dunmore, of Virginia, 1775. F. I., 458.)

UNION.—I learn from our delegates that the Confederation is again on the carpet, a great and a necessary wish, but I fear almost desperate. The point of representation is what most alarms me, as I fear the great and the small colonies are bitterly determined not to cede (yield). Will you be so good as to collect the former proposition I made you in private and try if you can work it into some good to serve our Union. (To John Adams, 1777. F. II., 130.)

UNION.—The interests of the States ought to be made joint in every possible instance in order to cultivate the idea of our being one nation, and to multiply the instances in which the people shall look up to Congress as their head. (To James Monroe, written from Paris, 1785. F. IV., 52.)

UNION.—We shall never give up our Union, the last anchor of our hope, and that alone which is to prevent this heavenly country from becoming an arena of gladiators. Much as I

abhor war, and view it as the greatest revenge of mankind, and anxiously as I wish to keep out of the broils of Europe, I would yet go with my brethren into these rather than separate from them. (To Elbridge Gerry, 1797. F. VII., 122.)

UNION.—I sincerely wish that the whole Union may accommodate their interests to each other and play into their hands mutually as members of the same family, that the wealth and strength of any one part should be viewed as the wealth and strength of the whole. (Hugh Williamson, 1798. F. VII., 201.)

UNION.—The last hope of human liberty in this world rests on us. We ought, for so dear a state, to sacrifice every attachment and every enmity. Leave the President free to choose his own coadjutors, to pursue his own measures, and support him and them, even if we think we are wiser than they, honester than they are, or possessing more enlarged information of the state of things. If we move in mass, be it ever so circuitously, we shall attain our object; but if we break into squads, every one pursuing the path he thinks most direct, we become an easy conquest to those who can now barely hold us in check. I repeat again that we ought not to schismatize on either man or measures. Principles alone can justify that. If we find government in all its branches rushing headlong, like our predecessors, into the arms of monarchy; if we find them violating our dearest rights, the trial by jury, the freedom of the press, the freedom of opinion, civil or religious, or opening on our peace of mind or personal safety the sluices of terrorism; if we see them raising standing armies, when the absence of all other danger points to these as the sole objects on which they are employed, then indeed let us withdraw and call the nation to its tents. But while our functionaries are wise, and honest, and vigilant, let us move compactly under their guidance, and we have nothing to fear. Things may here and there go a little wrong. It is not in their power to prevent it, but all will be right in the end, though not perhaps by the shortest means. (To William Duane, 1811. C. V., 577.)

UNITARIANISM.—No historical fact is better established than that the doctrine of one God, pure and uncompounded, was that

of the early ages of Christianity; and was among the efficacious doctrines which gave it triumph over the polytheism of the ancients, sickened with the absurdities of their own theology. Nor was the unity of the Supreme Being ousted from the Christian creed by the force of reason, but by the sword of Civil Government, wielded at the will of the fanatic Athanasius. The hocus-pocus phantasm of a God like another Cerberus, with one body and three heads, had its birth and growth in the blood of thousands and thousands of martyrs. And a strong proof of the solidity of the primitive faith is its restoration as soon as a nation arises which vindicates to itself the freedom of religious opinion and its external divorce from the civil authority. The pure and simple unity of the Creator of the universe is now all but ascendent in the eastern States; it is dawning in the west, and advancing toward the south; and I confidently expect that the present generation will see Unitarianism become the general religion of the United States. (To James Smith, 1822. C. VII., 269.)

University of Virginia.—We wish to establish in the upper and healthier country and more centrally for the State an university on a plan so broad and liberal and modern as to be worth patronizing with the public support, and be a temptation to the youth of other States to come and drink of the cup of knowledge and fraternize with us. The first step is to obtain a good plan; that is a judicious selection of the sciences and a practicable grouping of them together. * * * I will venture to sketch the sciences which seem useful and practicable for us, as they occur to me while holding my pen. Botany, Chemistry, Zoology, Anatomy, Surgery, Medicine, Natural Philosophy, Agriculture, Mathematics, Astronomy, Geology, Geography, Politics, Commerce, History, Ethics, Law, Arts, Fine Arts. This list is imperfect because I make it hastily, and because I am unequal to the subject. It is evident that some of these articles are too much for one professor and must therefore be ramified; others may be ascribed in groups to a single professor. (To Joseph Priestly, 1800. F. VII., 407.)

University of Virginia.—To these particular services, I think

I might add the establishment of our University, as principally my work, acknowledging at the same time, as I do, the great assistance received from my able colleagues of the Visitation. But my residence in the vicinity threw, of course, on me the chief burthen of the enterprise, as well of the buildings as of the general organization and care of the whole. The effect of this institution on the future fame, fortune and prosperity of our country can as yet be seen but at a distance. But an hundred well-educated youths, which it will turn out annually, and ere long, will fill its offices with men of superior qualifications, and raise it from its humble state to an eminence among its associates which it has never yet known; no, not in its brightest days. That institution is now qualified to raise its youth to an order of science unequalled in any other State; and this superiority will be the greater from the free range of mind encouraged there, and the restraint imposed at other seminaries by the shackles of a domineering hierarchy, and a bigoted adhesion to ancient habits. Those now on the theatre of affairs will enjoy the ineffable happiness of seeing themselves succeeded by sons of a grade of science beyond their own ken. Our sister States will also be repairing to the same fountains of instruction, will bring hither their genius to be kindled at our fire, and will carry back the fraternal affections which, nourished by the same *alma mater*, will knit us to them by the indissoluble bonds of early personal friendships. The good Old Dominion, the blessed mother of us all, will then raise her head with pride among the nations, will present to them that splendor of genius which she has ever possessed, but has too long suffered to rest uncultivated and unknown, and will become a centre of ralliance to the States whose youth she has instructed, and, as it were, adopted. (1826. C. IX., 509.)

Vice-Presidency.—The idea that I would accept the office of President but not that of Vice-President of the United States had not its origin with me. I never thought of questioning the free exercise of the right of my fellow citizens to marshal those whom they call into their service according to their fitness, nor ever presumed that they were not the best judges of

these. Had I indulged in a wish in what manner they should dispose of me, it would precisely have coincided with what they have done. (To James Sullivan, 1797. F. VII., 116.)

VICE-PRESIDENCY.—I thank you for your congratulation on the public call on me to undertake the second office in the United States, but still more for the justice you do me in viewing as I do the escape from the first; I have no wish to meddle again in public affairs, being happier at home than I can be anywhere else. Still less do I wish to engage in an office where it would be impossible to satisfy either friends or foes. If I am to act, however, a more tranquil and unoffending station could not have been found for me, no one so analogous to the dispositions of my mind. It will give me philosophical evenings in the winter and rural days in summer. (To Benjamin Rush, 1797. F. VII., 114.)

VICE-PRESIDENT.—As to duty, the Constitution will know me (as Vice-President) only as the member of a Legislative body; and its principle is that of a separation of Legislative, Executive and Judiciary functions, except in cases specified. If this principle be not expressed in direct terms, yet it is clearly the spirit of the Constitution, and it ought to be so commented and acted on by every friend of free government. (To James Madison, 1797. F. VII., 108.)

WAR.—I do not recollect in all the animal kingdom a single species but man which is eternally and systematically engaged in the destruction of its own species. What is called civilization seems to have no other effect on him than to teach him to pursue the principle of *bellum omnium in omnia* on a larger scale, and, in place of the little contests of tribe against tribe, to engage all the quarters of the earth in the same work of destruction. When we add to this that as the other species of animals the lions and tigers are mere lambs compared with man as a destroyer, we must conclude that it is in man alone that nature has been able to find a sufficient barrier against the too great nullification of other animals and of man himself, an equilibrating power against the fecundity of generation. (To James Madison, 1797. F. VII., 100.)

WAR.—We had reposed great confidence in that provision of the Constitution which requires two-thirds of the Legislature to declare war. Yet it may be entirely eluded by a majority's taking such measures as will bring on war. (To James Monroe, 1798. F. VII., 222.)

WAR.—Wars must sometimes be our lot, and all the wise can do will be to avoid that half of them which would be produced by our own follies and our own acts of injustice; and to make for the other half the best preparations we can. Of what nature should these be? A land army would be useless for offense, and not the best nor safest instrument of defense. For either of these purposes, the sea is the field on which we should meet an European enemy. On that element it is necessary we should possess some power. To aim at such a navy as the greater nations of Europe possess would be a foolish and wicked waste of the energies of our countrymen. It would be to pull on our own heads that load of military expense which makes the European laborer go supperless to bed, and moistens his bread with the sweat of his brows. (From "Notes on Virginia," 1782. F. III., 280.)

WAR.—Were armies to be raised whenever a speck of war is visible in our horizon, we never should have been without them. Our resources would have been exhausted on dangers which have never happened, instead of being reserved for what is really to take place. A steady, perhaps a quickened pace in preparations for the defense of our seaport towns and waters; an early settlement of the most exposed and vulnerable parts of our country; a militia so organized that its effective portions can be called to any point in the Union, or volunteers instead of them to serve a sufficient time, are means which may always be ready yet never preying on our resources until actually called into use. They will maintain the public interests while a more permanent force shall be in course of preparation. But much will depend on the promptitude with which these means can be brought into activity. If war be forced upon us in spite of our long and vain appeals to the justice of nations, rapid and vigorous movements in its outset will go far towards se-

curing us in its course and issue, and towards throwing its burdens on those who render necessary the resort from reason to force. (Sixth Annual Message, 1806. F. VIII., 495.)

WAR.—"Is it common for a nation to obtain a redress of wrongs by war?" The answer to this question you will, of course, draw from history. In the meantime, reason will answer it on the grounds of probability, that when the wrong has been done by a weaker nation the stronger one has generally been able to enforce redress; but where by a stronger nation, redress by war has been neither obtained nor expected by the weaker. On the contrary, the loss has been increased by the expenses of the war in blood and treasure. Yet it may have obtained another object equally securing itself from future wrong. It may have retaliated on the aggressor losses of blood and treasure far beyond the value to him of the wrong he had committed and thus have made the advantage of that too dear a purchase to leave him in a disposition to renew the wrong in future. In this way, the loss by the war may have secured the weaker nation from loss by future wrong. (To Rev. Mr. Worcester, 1816. C. VI., 539.)

WASHINGTON.—There was nobody so well qualified as yourself to put our new machine into a regular course of action, nobody the authority of whose name could have so effectually curbed opposition at home, and produce respect abroad. I am sensible of the immensity of the sacrifice on your part. Your measure of fame was full to the brim; and therefore, you have nothing to gain. But there are cases wherein it is a duty to risk all against nothing, and I believe this was exactly the case. (To Washington, from Paris, 1789. F. V., 95.)

WASHINGTON.—It is fortunate that our first Executive Magistrate is purely and zealously Republican. We cannot expect all his successors to be so, and therefore should avail ourselves the present day to establish principles and examples which may fence us against future heresies preached now, to be practiced hereafter. (To Harry Innes, 1791. F. V., 300.)

WASHINGTON.—There is sometimes an eminence of character on which society have such peculiar claims as to control the

predilection of the individual for a particular walk of happiness and restrain him to that alone arising from the present and future benedictions of mankind. This seems to be your condition, and the law imposed on you by Providence in forming your character, and fashioning the events on which it was to operate; and it is motions like these that I appeal from your former determination (of refusing a second term) and urge a revisal of it, on the ground of a change in the aspect of things. (To Washington, 1792. F. VI., 6.)

WASHINGTON.—It was impossible the bank and paper-mania should not produce great and extensive ruin. The President is fortunate to get off just as the bubble is bursting, leaving others to hold the bag, yet on his departure will mark the moment when the difficulties begin to work; you will see that they will be ascribed to the new administration and that he will have his usual good fortune of reaping credit from the good acts of others, and leaving to them that of his errors. (To James Madison, 1797. F. VII., 104.)

WASHINGTON.—Such is the popularity of the President that the people will support him in whatever he will do or not do, without appealing to their own reason or to anything but their feelings toward him. His mind has been so long used to unlimited applause that it could not brook contradiction, or even advice offered unasked. To advice when asked he is very open. I have long thought therefore it was best for the Republican interest to soothe him by flattering when they could approve his measures, and to be silent where they disapprove. * * * I think it is best to leave him to his own movements, and not risk the ruffling them by what he might deem an improper interference with the constituted authorities. (To Archibald Stuart, 1797. F. VII., 102.)

WASHINGTON.—I think I knew General Washington intimately and thoroughly; and were I called to delineate his character, it should be in terms like these:

His mind was great and powerful, without being of the very first order; his penetration strong, though not so acute as that of a Newton, Bacon, or Locke; and as far as he saw, no judg-

ment was ever sounder. It was slow in operation, being little aided by invention or imagination, but sure in conclusion. Hence the common remark of his officers, of the advantage he derived from councils of war, where hearing all suggestions, he selected whatever was best; and certainly no General ever planned the battles more judiciously. But if deranged during the course of action, if any member of his plan was dislocated by sudden circumstances, he was slow in re-adjustment. The consequence was, that he often failed in the field, and rarely against an enemy in station, as at Boston and York. He was incapable of fear, meeting personal dangers with the calmest unconcern. Perhaps the strongest feature in his character was prudence, never acting until every circumstance, every consideration, was maturely weighed; refraining if he saw a doubt, but when once decided, going through with his purpose, whatever obstacle opposed. His integrity was most pure, his justice the most inflexible I have ever known, no motives of interest or consanguinity, of friendship or hatred, being able to bias his decision. He was, indeed, in every sense of the word, a wise, a good, and a great man. His temper was naturally irritable and high toned; but reflection and resolution had obtained a firm and habitual ascendency over it. If ever, however, it broke its bonds, he was most tremendous in his wrath. In his expenses he was honorable, but exact; but frowning and unyielding on all visionary projects and all unworthy calls on his charity. His heart was not warm in its affections; but he exactly calculated every man's value and gave him a solid esteem proportioned to it. His person, you know, was fine, his stature exactly what one would wish, his deportment easy, erect and noble; the best horseman of his age, and the most graceful figure that could be seen on horseback. Although in the circle of his friends, where he might be unreserved with safety, he took a free share in conversation, his colloquial talents were not above mediocrity, possessing neither copiousness of ideas, nor fluency of words. In public, when called on for a sudden opinion, he was unready, short, and embarrassed. Yet he wrote readily, rather diffusely, in an easy and correct style. This he

had acquired by conversation with the world, for his education was merely reading, writing and common arithmetic, to which he added surveying at a later day. His time was employed in action chiefly, reading little, and that only in agriculture and English history. His correspondence became necessarily extensive, and, with journalizing his agricultural proceedings, occupied most of his leisure hours within doors. On the whole, his character was, in its mass, perfect, in nothing bad, in few points indifferent; and it may truly be said, that never did nature and fortune combine more perfectly to make a man great, and to place him in the same constellation with whatever worthies have merited from man an everlasting remembrance. For his was the singular destiny and merit, of leading the armies of his country successfully through an arduous war, for the establishment of its independence; of conducting its councils through the birth of a Government, new in its forms and principles, until it had settled down into a quiet and orderly train; and of scrupulously obeying the laws through the whole of his career, civil and military, of which the history of the world furnishes no other example.

How, then, can it be perilous for you to take such a man on your shoulders? I am satisfied the great body of Republicans think of him as I do. We were, indeed, dissatisfied with him on his ratification of the British treaty. But this was short lived. We knew his honesty, the wiles with which he was encompassed, and that age had already begun to relax the firmness of his purposes; and I am convinced he is more deeply seated in the love and gratitude of the Republicans, than in the Pharisaical homage of the Federal monarchists. For he was no monarchist from preference of his judgment. The soundness of that gave him correct views of the rights of man, and his severe justice devoted him to them. He has often declared to me that he considered our new Constitution as an experiment on the practicability of Republican Government, and with what dose of liberty man could be trusted for his own good; that he was determined the experiment should have a fair trial, and would lose the last drop of his blood in support of it. And

these declarations he repeated to me the oftener and more pointedly, because he knew my suspicions of Colonel Hamilton's views, and probably had heard from him the same declarations which I had, to wit, "that the British Constitution, with its unequal representation, corruption and other existing abuses would make it an impracticable government." I do believe that General Washington had not a firm confidence in the durability of our government. He was naturally distrustful of men, and inclined to gloomy apprehensions; and I was ever persuaded that a belief that we must at length end in something like a British Constitution, had some weight in his adoption of the ceremonies of levees, birthdays, pompous meetings with Congress, and other forms of the same character, calculated to prepare us gradually for a change which he believed possible, and to let it come on with as little shock as might be to the public mind.

These are my opinions of General Washington, which I would vouch at the judgment seat of God, having been formed on an acquaintance of thirty years. I served with him in the Virginia Legislature from 1769 to the Revolutionary War, and again, a short time in Congress, until he left us to take command of the army. During the war and after it we corresponded occasionally, and in the four years of my continuance in the office of Secretary of State, our intercourse was daily, confidential and cordial. After I retired from that office, great and malignant pains were taken by our Federal monarchists, and not entirely without effect, to make him view me as a theorist, holding French principles of government, which would lead infallibly to licentiousness and anarchy. And to this he listened the more easily, from my known disapprobation of the British treaty. I never saw him afterwards, or these malignant insinuations should have been dissipated before his just judgment, as mists before the sun. I felt on his death, with my countrymen, that "verily a great man hath fallen this day in Israel."

WASHINGTON.—You expected to discover the difference of our party principles in General Washington's valedictory and my inaugural address. Not at all. General Washington did not

harbor one principle of Federalism. He was neither an Anglo-man, a monarchist, nor a separatist. He sincerely wished the people to have as much self-government as they were competent to exercise themselves. The only point on which he and I ever differed in opinion was that I had more confidence than he had in the natural integrity and discretion of the people, and in the safety and extent to which they might trust themselves with a control over their government. He has expressed to me a thousand times his determination that the existing government should have a fair trial and that in support of it, he would spend the last drop of his blood. (To Mr. Melish, 1813. C. VI., 97.)

Whigs and Tories.—The Hartford Convention, the victory of Orleans, the peace of Ghent, prostrated the name of Federalism. Its votaries abandoned it through shame and mortification; and now call themselves Republicans. But the name alone is changed, the principles are the same. For in truth the parties of Whig and Tory are those of nature. They exist in all countries, whether called by these names or by those of Aristocrats and Democrats, Coté Droite and Coté Gauche, Ultras and Radicals, Seroiles and Liberals. The sickly, weakly, timid man fears the people, and is a Tory by nature. The healthy, strong and bold cherishes them and is formed a Whig by nature. (To Marquis de LaFayette, 1823. C. VII., 324.)

Whisky.—Considering it only as a fiscal measure, this was right. But the prostration of body and mind which the cheapness of this liquor is spreading through the mass of our citizens, now calls the attention of the legislator on a very different principle. One of his important duties is as guardian of those who from causes susceptible of precise definition, cannot take care of themselves. Such are infants, maniacs, gamblers, drunkards. The last as much as the maniac, requires restrictive measures to save him from the fatal infatuation under which he is destroying his health, his morals, his family, and his usefulness to society. One powerful obstacle to his ruinous self-indulgence would be a price beyond his competence. As a sanatory measure, therefore, it becomes one of duty in the pub-

lic guardians. Yet I do not think it follows that imported spirits should be subjected to similar enhancement until they become as cheap as they are made at home. A tax on whisky is to discourage its consumption; a tax on foreign spirits encourages whisky by removing its rival from competition. The price and present duty throw foreign spirits already out of competition with whisky, and accordingly they are used but to a salutary extent. You see no persons besotting themselves with imported spirits, wines and liquors, cordials, etc. Whisky claims to itself alone the exclusive office of sot-making. Foreign spirits, wines, teas, coffee, sugars, salt, are articles of as innocent consumption as broadcloths and silks; and ought like them, to pay but the average *ad valorem* duty of other important comforts. (To Samuel Smith, 1823. C. VII., 285.)

Woman.—But our good ladies, I trust have been too wise to wrinkle their foreheads with politics. They are contented to soothe and calm the minds of their husbands returning ruffled from political debate. They have the good sense to value domestic happiness above all others, and the art to cultivate it above all others. There is no part of the earth where as much of this is enjoyed as in America. Recollect the women of this capital, some on foot, some on horses, and some in carriages hunting pleasure in the streets, in routs and assemblies, and forgetting what they have left behind them in their nurseries; compare them with our own countrywomen occupied in the tender and tranquil amusements of domestic life, and confess that it is a comparison of Americans and Angels. (To Mrs. William Bingham, written in Paris, 1788. F. V., 9.)

APOTHEGMS.

(The following pithy sentiments are found scattered through the writings of Jefferson in passages not otherwise significant and therefore not included in the main body of the Writings.)

1.

Conscience is the only clue that will eternally guide a man clear of all doubts and inconsistencies.

2.

Under difficulties I have ever found one and only one rule, *to do what is right*, and generally we shall disentangle ourselves almost without perceiving how it happened.

3.

To contribute by neighborly intercourse and attention to make others happy is the shortest and surest way of being happy ourselves.

4.

I have ever deemed it more honorable and profitable, too, to set a good example than to follow a bad one.

5.

I never consider a difference of opinion in politics, in religion, in philosophy, as cause for withdrawing from a friend.

6.

Foreign relations are the province of the Federal Government; domestic regulations and institutions belong in every State to itself.

7.

Of all the duties imposed on the executive head of a government, appointment to office is the most difficult and most irksome.

8.

In a government bottomed on the will of all, the life and liberty of every individual citizen becomes interesting to all.

9.

The government which can wield the arm of the people must be the strongest possible.

10.

History in general only informs us what bad government is.

11.

Nothing can establish firmly the Republican principles of our government but an establishment of them in England.

12.

The duty of an upright administration is to pursue its course steadily, to know nothing of these family (party) dissensions and to cherish the good principles of both parties.

13.

Where an office is local we never go out of the limits for the officers.

14.

It will be forever seen that of bodies of men even elected by the people, there will always be a greater proportion aristocratic than among their constituents.

15.

A merchant is naturally a Republican [Democrat] and can be otherwise only from a vitiated state of things.

16.

The happiness of society depends so much on preventing party spirit from infecting the common intercourse of life that nothing should be spared to harmonize and amalgamate the parties in social circles.

17.

The Presidency is the only office in the world about which I

am unable to decide in my own mind whether I had rather have it or not have it.

18.

I am no believer in the amalgamation of parties, nor do I consider it as either desirable or useful to the public.

19.

It is necessary to give as well as take in a government like ours.

20.

It accords with our principles to acknowledge any government to be rightful which is formed by the will of the nation substantially declared.

21.

A nation as a society forms a moral person, and every member of it is personally responsible for his society.

22.

The spirit of this country is totally adverse to a large military.

23.

Wars and contentions indeed fill the pages of history with more matter. But more blest is that nation whose silent course of happiness furnishes nothing for history to say.

24.

For a people who are free and who mean to remain so, a well-organized and armed militia is their best security.

25.

Peace and friendship with all mankind is the wisest policy.

26.

If there be one principle more deeply rooted than any other in the mind of every American, it is that we should have nothing to do with conquest.

27.

I wish we could distribute our four hundred monocrats among

the Indians who would teach them lessons of liberty and equality.

28.

We are not expected to be translated from despotism to liberty in a feather bed.

29.

The boisterous sea of liberty is never without a wave.

30.

Our citizens may be deceived for a while and have been deceived; but as long as the press can be protected we trust them for light.

31.

The newspapers are the first of all human contrivances for generating war.

32.

Letters are not the first but the last steps in the progression from barbarism to civilization.

33.

Men are disposed to live honestly if the means of doing so are open to them.

34.

Honesty is the first chapter of the book of wisdom.

35.

I place economy among the first and most important of Republican virtues, and public debt as the greatest of the dangers to be feared.

36.

There is a debt of service due from every man to his country, proportioned to the bounties which nature and fortune have measured on him.

37.

I am not one of those who fear the people.

38.

In most countries a fixed quantity of wheat is perhaps the best permanent standard of value.

39.

The English would not lose the sale of a bale of furs for the freedom of the whole world.

40.

I have made it a rule never to engage in a lottery or any other adventure of mere chance.

41.

The purse of the people is the real seat of sensibility.

42.

I have ever found in my progress through life, that acting for the public if we always do what is right, the approbation denied in the beginning will surely follow in the end.

43.

What all agree in is probably right; what no two agree in is most probably wrong.

44.

If we are to dream, the flatteries of hope are as cheap and pleasanter than the gloom of despair.

45.

I have never believed there was one code of morality for a public and another for a private man.

46.

Had there never been a commentator there never would have been an infidel.

47.

Had the doctrines of Jesus been preached always as pure as they came from his lips, the whole civilized world would now have been Christian.

48.

Whatever be the degree of talent it is no measure of right;

because Sir Isaac Newton was superior to others in understanding, he was not therefore lord of the person or property of others.

49.

The English never made an equal commercial treaty with any nation, and we have no right to expect to be the first.

50.

Money and not morality is the principle of commerce and commercial nations.

51.

My idea is that we should encourage home manufactures to the extent of our own consumption of every thing of which we raise the raw material.

52.

Never fear the want of business. A man who qualifies himself well for his calling never fails of employment in it.

53.

A tour (term) of duty, in whatever line he can be most useful to his country, is due from every individual.

54.

I have never conceived that having been in public life requires me to belie my sentiments or even to conceal them

55.

I have but one system of ethics for men and for nations—to be grateful, to be faithful to all engagements, and, under all circumstances, to be open and generous.

56.

Matrimony illy agrees with study, especially in the first stages of both.

57.

To most minds exile is next to death; to many beyond it.

58.

The only reward I ever wished on my retirement was to carry with me nothing like a disapprobation of the public.

59.

If some termination of the service of the chief magistrate be not fixed by the Constitution, his office will become for life.

60.

The main objects of all science are the freedom and happiness of man.

61.

To be really useful we must keep pace with the state of society and not dishearten if by attempts at what its population, means, or occupations will fail in attempting.

62.

The information of the people at large can alone make them the safe, as they are the sole, depository of our religious and political freedom.

63.

There are two subjects which I shall claim a right to further as long as I have breath, the public education and the subdivision of the counties into wards (townships). I consider the continuance of Republican government as absolutely hanging on these two hooks.

64.

A Republican government is slow to move, yet when once in motion its momentum becomes irresistible.

65.

The equal rights of man and the happiness of every individual are the only legitimate objects of government.

66.

We may still believe with security that the great body of American people must for ages yet be substantially Republican.

67.

Opinion and the just maintenance of it shall never be a crime in my view; nor bring injury on the individual.

68.

I think all the world would gain by setting commerce at perfect freedom.

69.

I had ever fondly cherished the interests of the West, relying on it as a barrier against the degeneracy of public opinion from our original and free principles.

70.

Neither natural right nor reason subjects the body of a man to restraint for debt.

71.

I know of no safe depository of the ultimate powers of society but the people themselves.

72.

My principle is to do whatever is right and leave the consequences to Him who has the disposal of them.

73

No man on earth has stronger detestation of the unprincipled tyrant Bonaparte than myself.

74.

Nothing betrays imbecility so much as being insensible of it.

75.

I find friendship to be like wine, raw when new, ripened with age, the true old man's milk and restorative cordial.

76.

I never yet saw a native American begging in the streets or highways.

77.

The appointment of a woman to office is an innovation for which the public is not prepared, nor am I.

78

I hope and firmly believe that the whole world will sooner or later feel benefit from the issue of our assertions of the rights of man.

79.

The will of the majority honestly expressed should give law.

80.

I find that he is happiest of whom the world says least, good or bad.

81.

Our first and fundamental maxim should be never to entangle ourselves in the toils of Europe. Our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cis-Atlantic affairs.

82.

No government can be maintained without the principle of fear as well as of duty. Good men will obey the last, but bad ones the former only.

83.

Having seen the people of all other nations bow down to the earth under the wars and prodigalities of their rulers, I have cherished the opposites, peace, economy, and riddance of the public debt.

84.

I have no fear but that the result of our experiment will be that men may be trusted to govern themselves without a master.

85.

To inform the minds of the people and to follow their will is the chief duty of those placed at their head.

86.

I have such reliance on the good sense of the body of the people and the honesty of their leaders that I am not afraid of their letting things go wrong to any length in any cause.

87.

We wish not to meddle with the internal affairs of any country. Peace with all nations and the right which that peace gives us with respect to all nations, are our object.

88

I have no inclination to govern men.

89.

It is incumbent on every generation to pay its own debt as it goes.

90.

It ought to be supplicated from heaven by the prayers of the whole world that at length there may be on earth peace and good will toward men.

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